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THE SPEECH OF WILLIAM H.
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Wm. H. Maynard

THE
SPEECH

OF
WILLIAM H. MAYNARD,

ON THE
BILL FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE

CHENANGO CANAL.

DELIVERED IN THE
Senate of New-York, 23d and 24th February, 1831.

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1831.

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Albany, 3d March.

DEAR SIR,

You will greatly oblige the friends of the Chenango Canal bill by writing out your speech upon that subject, and giving us permission to publish it in a pamphlet form. There were some further views and remarks which you were good enough to suggest to me, and which were omitted in your speech, I suppose for the reasons you hinted at. I regret that you withheld them, as they struck me as exceedingly appropriate, and you will now greatly oblige me by embodying them in your written speech

Your's, truly,

Hon. W. H. MAYNARD.

JOHN A. COLLIER.

NOTE.—Two reports were made on the subject of the Chenango Canal: one by Mr. HUBBARD, a member of the Canal Committee, in favour of the construction, and accompanied by a bill for that purpose; and the other by the Chairman of that Committee, taking a general view of the Canal System, and of the Finances of the State, and concluding against the further prosecution of the system, for the present. Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Foster had spoken in favour of the bill, and Mr. Benton against it; when Mr. M. addressed the Committee.

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SPEECH, &c.

The Chairman of the Canal Committee, (Mr. Tallmadge,) was clearly right in considering the improvement contemplated by the bill on your table, as a part of our great system of internal improvements. On this principle he can be justified in going into an examination of the operation and results of the whole system, to determine the propriety of making this particular construction. It is obviously so; but if that view had been less clear, he would have been led to the same conclusion, from the fact that, when the commencement of the system was under consideration, it was then so regarded.

As early as 1814, in a report to the legislature, a connexion between the Susquehannah and the Erie Canal, was treated as a useful and necessary part of the contemplated system. From time to time the same idea has been expressed in your public documents. To that point the views and expectations of the inhabitants of the Chenango Valley have been directed by your public acts. They indulged full confidence, that you would, in good time, complete the plan of your own proposing. When, therefore, the chairman moralizes so well, and discourses so eloquently, on the pangs of "hope deferred," he was naturally led to the reflection, by the consideration that the inhabitants of this Valley, had for sixteen years, endured its torments. While your great work was in progress, they were patient and unobtrusive. They did not trouble you with importunities. They rejoiced at the successful advancement of your great enterprise and joined you in congratulations upon its completion. When it had progressed so far, that all doubt of its termination and success was banished, the inhabitants of this Valley ventured to remind you—not of your promise, for they never imagined that the great State of New-York required the inducement of that obligation; to continue the prosecution of a system so beneficent and glorious; but of your own plan, devised and promulgated ten years before. They presumed to suggest to you, that the operation of your main work would be comparatively disastrous to them, by conferring superior advantages upon the bordering sections; and as you would soon be relieved from that work, propriety and even handed justice required you to continue the prosecution of your plan. They expected no intermission, but that encouraged by unparelled success, you would proceed with increased alacrity. They have renewed their application to every successive legis-

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ature, and have been constantly cheered and flattered with favourable reports. They have been told that their object was worthy, that their contemplated construction would be useful, and that when certain doubts as to its practicability and expense were cleared up, it should be undertaken. They now present themselves before you again; and now, without pretence that the desired improvement, is impracticable, without an allegation that it would be too expensive, or would not prove useful, they are told that they must wait until your treasury is replenished, until your finances are in better condition; that they must wait until that undefined and undefinable period shall arrive, when you are better off; that their application is "not denied but only postponed," and they must live upon their stock of patience a little longer. Sir, the example of those who commenced your system of internal improvements, has been lauded and commended by the chairman in his report, and made the subject of lavish applause, if not of extravagant eulogy. Their example has been held up, decorated with the choicest trappings selected from the wardrobe of his fancy, and a fine fancy it is—but for what has it been so exhibited? For our imitation? No; but for avoidance. The chairman commends their example and their *whole example*. Not only the fact of commencement, but the time and circumstances under which the work was begun, are alike included in the unqualified terms of his approbation.

I propose, Sir, to examine the condition of your finances in 1817, when you commenced your system, and compare it with your present condition, to ascertain whether there is any thing in the example of that day to justify this doctrine, "Stay till you are better off," and if it be admissible at all in great and useful enterprises, to determine at which period then or now, it could be, with most force applied, or propriety admitted. I am much mistaken, Sir, if the comparison does not show that your financial condition, in every relation and aspect in which it can be viewed, is better now than it was then. That this doctrine, "Stop till your better off," might have been urged with infinitely greater force then than it can be now.

From the report of the Comptroller, in 1817, and before the commencement of your work, it appears that the General Fund, amounted to

\$4,470,169 80

And the State debt, was

2,905,355 00

Excess of fund over debt,

\$1,564,814 80

Leaving an excess of fund over the debts of the State of only \$1,-

564,814 80. It is true you had a large fund. You also owed a large debt. Like many individuals you had a great amount of property in your hands; but if you had been required to settle your affairs with the world and pay your debts, the excess of fund over debt, is all you would have had left. It was all that you had to draw revenue from, for the support of your government. You paid as high an interest as you received, and your condition would have been precisely the same, if your debt had been liquidated by the application of an equal amount of your fund. Now let us examine your present condition:

Now you have a fund of	\$1,312,284 86
And a debt charged upon it of	332,519 22

\$979,764 94

Making the excess of fund over your debt now \$979,764 94.

You had then a real fund in 1817, of	\$1,564,814 80
And you have now a like fund of	979,764 94

Diminution in 14 years, \$585,049 86

In order to determine the relative ability of a government, at different periods, we must compare its *means* with its *wants* at the periods assumed. If a government at one time have a fund of *ten* millions, and an expenditure of *one* million, and at another a fund of *one* million, and an expenditure of one hundred thousand, its financial condition, on a comparison of its *means* with its *wants*, is precisely the same. And if you could conceive of a government, without expenditure, or objects of expenditure, it would be just as well without, as with a fund. Keeping this obvious truth in view, let us compare the means and wants of our government in 1817 and its present means and wants. Then the estimate of your ordinary expenditure was \$547,211 60, and now a similar estimate is only \$302,200; then you had a real fund of \$1,564,814 80, with an estimated expenditure of \$547,211 60, and now you have a like fund of \$979,764 94, and a like expenditure of \$302,200. Your fund has diminished \$585,049 86, and your annual expenditure \$245,011 60. Your fund therefore has not been diminished in proportion to the diminution of your expenditure, and that may be still farther reduced. This comparison of your means and wants at the two assumed periods, shews that your condition is better now than it was when you commenced your magnificent work. It is alleged also, that your revenue is not equal to your expenditure. Nor was it then. The estimated income in 1817, including the salt, and auction duties, and exclusive of direct

taxation, fell short of the estimated expenditure, by the sum of \$23,198,79 and after the transfer, made in April of that year, of the auction and salt duties estimated at \$124,000 to the canal fund, the deficiency, according to the estimates was \$147,198 79, and the actual deficiency proved to be \$241,086 60. Take what view you will of your finances, then and now, you are brought to the same result, and in despite of all your efforts, find yourself in an improved condition. Let us enquire now what you have done with your funds. In the first place, Sir, like an honest man, you have paid your debts, and who is he that will complain of that? With a portion of the residue you have done more than well; you have attempted to fulfil one of the highest and noblest duties devolved on human beings. You have applied it, with a liberal hand, to the holiest of purposes—the promotion of education.

Since 1817, you have transferred to the common school fund, the loan of 1786, then estimated at	\$63,071,76
The loan of 1792, then estimated at	500,000,00
The loan of 1808, do. do.	449,076,00
Bank stock,	100,000,00
To the Literature fund, canal stock,	150,000,00

In all \$1,262,147,76

Remember, also, that you have since, built your States Prisons, and built them well, but at great, though not extravagant, expense.

Allow me now, Sir, to present you a comparative view of funds, in the aggregate. In 1817, you had a general fund over debt of

	\$1,564,814,80
Common school fund of	982,244,26
Literature fund,	26,696,10
Total of all funds,	\$2,573,755,18
Now you have a general fund of	\$979,764,94
Common school fund,	1,735,569,66
Literature fund,	256,343,52
Total of all funds,	\$2,971,678,12
The aggregate of those three funds, is now	\$2,971,678,12
And in 1817, the aggregate was	2,573,755,16
	\$397,922,96

Shewing an excess of fund in the aggregate now over the the same funds in 1817, of nearly \$400,000.

Sir, you have been growing rich, while you have been prosecuting your great works of internal improvement. It is the natural consequence of energy, enterprise, and wisdom. And whose are all these funds? I had supposed, Sir, they belonged to the people, and that they had a right, through their representatives, to dispose of them as they pleased. They have done so. They have chosen to transfer a portion of them from one pocket to another; and if they find less in one they find more in others, and more in the aggregate; and the most grateful and consoling of all considerations is, they find them precisely where they choose to have them.

Do not imagine, Sir, that while your funds have increased, your lands have been used to produce the augmentation. Far different is the fact with your real estate. Your lands hold out like the "widow's cruise or the barrel of flour." Even that miracle of olden times, is surpassed in the case of your lands; for of them, the more you sell, the more they come back upon you.

According to the last statement of the commissioners of the land office, you had lands belonging to the general fund

	119,662 acres.
Common school fund,	860,178
Literature fund,	17,921

1,006,764

In 1817, lands belonging to the general fund,

	780,000 acres.
Common school fund,	80,098
Literature fund,	2,674

862,772

Thus, while your funds have been increasing, you have acquired also, 133,992 acres of land, and possess that quantity more now than at that period. I speak not of their value; we have no means of determining that with accuracy.

Permit me now to present you one other view of your finances, that you may have before you, the means by which you have effected all your purposes. In 1817, you had a direct tax of two mills on the dollar; not laid for the purposes of the canals, but imposed the year before for other purposes, and without any reference to the contemplated system of internal improvements. That tax produced in 1817, \$491,137 81, and gave you a surplus over your expenditure of \$250,041 21. By means of taxation, greater than your necessities required, you had a surplus revenue for ten successive years, from 1816 to 1825, inclusive.

The aggregate amount of those surpluses was \$1,380,361 50, which, added to the excess of your fund over your debt in 1817, of \$1,564,814 80, gives you a fund of \$2,945,176 30. And when, Sir, did you ever possess a larger unincumbered fund than that amount? This shews you the means by which you have lived. Taxation to some extent was always indispensable to enable you to defray the ordinary expenses of your government. You imposed a greater tax than was necessary, carefully laid up the excess it produced, and were thus enabled to dispense with, first a part, and finally the whole, of your direct tax. You have since been devouring the fruits of former taxation. The lean years have been consuming the years of plenty. This is a brief, but full and fair view of your financial operations. Such details are always dry. I hope I have made the statement plain. I must trust to the subjects to afford you interest. From all this, it results that no tax was ever imposed on account of the canals; that taxation was always necessary for your ordinary purposes, and that if you had imposed a lighter, you must have continued it longer. What then is your present condition, in comparison with your condition when you commenced your system of internal improvements? Then, you had a debt of nearly three millions; now, of only a little over three hundred thousand; then, your states prisons were not built; now, you have provided amply and at vast expense, for the enforcement of your criminal code; then, your school fund was greatly inadequate; now, far more nearly commensurate with its great purposes; then, your literature fund was a mockery; now, abundant for its objects. You have more funds in the aggregate now, and more lands too. Then, you paid a tax of two mills on the dollar, and now, with double the ability to bear taxation, you pay nothing, and the advocates of taxation admit that a tax of one mill will be sufficient for all your wants. Indeed, Sir, what do you want money for? You have no great plans, no great objects of expenditure, no designs, no enterprises, no great undertakings in progress, and if this doctrine, "stay till you are better off," is to prevail, you have none in prospect. About half your present ordinary expenditure, is for the payment of your officers of government, including the expenses of the legislature. The machine of government is in order, and requires nothing, but faithful attention and a little oil, to keep it in motion. At which period then, could this doctrine "stay till you are better off" be urged with most propriety and force? How infinitely more impressive should it have been then than now? Then the opponents of the canal policy might have exclaimed, stay till you have thrown off this load of debt; stay till you have provided protection for the

community by the erection of adequate prisons; stay till you have done something more worthy of yourselves and of the infinite object, the promotion of education; stay till your citizens are relieved from the oppressive burden of taxation; stay till you have something in your treasury, before you commence a system that may involve you in enormous, untold, unimaginable expenditure. Thank heaven no such counsels prevailed then. If they had, not a spade would have been stuck in the earth in prosecution of your great work, and the beautiful eulogies of the chairman, upon its authors, would never have been pronounced.

The men of that day were those who looked beyond the bourne that bounds the vision of ordinary mortals, and embraced posterity in the scope of their policy. They did not break up time into short periods, and confine their views and their calculations to each separate portion, but their plans were founded on long continuous operations, looking to remote results and extending through all time. They cast their eyes upon the resources of the state, fixed their minds intensely upon the magnificent object, poised themselves upon their own magnanimity, and trusted to the verdict of the world and the judgment of posterity. The example of that day, repels the doctrine of this. The principles and the conclusion of the chairman, war with each other. I call upon him to abide by his *principles* founded in wisdom, sanctified by high example, and proven by experience, and reject his intrusive, misplaced conclusion.

Indulge me now, Sir, in a remark, on the idea suggested by the chairman, that your system of internal improvements was to be prosecuted without taxation. I admit that it never was the intention of its authors, to rely wholly upon taxation for the requisite supplies. But to a certain extent, taxation was an essential and indispensable part of their plan. How could it be otherwise? The view I have presented of your finances in 1817, proves that every member of the legislature then must have known that the revenue without taxation, was insufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the government. Is it possible that they placed no reliance upon taxation when they transferred from that inadequate revenue, the auction and salt duties, then amounting to \$124,000, more than one fifth of your whole ordinary income, and devoted them expressly to the prosecution of these works? Indeed, Sir, the very extracts quoted by the chairman, to prove that resort was not to be had to taxation to any extent, prove the contrary, and establish the doctrine which I assert. When the joint committee of the senate and assembly in 1825, say, in speaking of the prosecution of works of internal improvement, "they should, however, in all cases, where they are expected to be made

at the public expense, be recommended and undertaken with reference to the funds, which without imposing *heavy burdens* upon the community, can be appropriated to such objects;" they evidently mean to assert the propriety of imposing light burdens for such purposes. And when they say also, "to attempt to raise, by taxation, the *whole sum* as it will be required, will impose a burthen on the people which will be destructive of the whole project;" they mean that a part only of the whole sum should be raised by taxation. Sir, the authors and early promoters of this system did not start at the idea of moderate and reasonable taxation, to effect so beneficent an object. They were sustained by the consciousness of integrity of purpose, vastness of design, and animated by the brilliant promise of great and enduring benefits to mankind.

The objects of the canal policy seem to be drawn in question. The chairman has hinted in his report, that a primary object was revenue. This idea is fully expressed in the report of the canal board of last year, to which the chairman has referred with expressions of confidence in its accuracy.

In that report the canal board say, "the advantages to the people of this state to be derived from the construction of navigable communications between the great western and northern lakes and the Atlantic ocean, were doubtless based upon the anticipated revenue which these works would produce." And again, "and that the great state community must look as an indemnity for its expenditures, to the revenue to be derived from these works." Now, Sir, I assert, that such was never the doctrine, and such were never the views of the authors and projectors of your canal policy. Such a doctrine would rob them of more than half their glory. I feel anxious to rescue them from the obloquy and disgrace which these partial and imperfect views of their policy would cast upon them. I assert, in opposition to the canal board, that the *extension of commercial facilities, and the attainment of commercial advantages*, were the primary and controlling objects of the policy, that led to the commencement of your system of internal improvements.

The augmentation of property, and an infinite train of benefits were the consequences that were to follow the attainment and increase of commercial advantages. Revenue was indeed an important inducement to the undertaking, but it was an *auxiliary and subordinate consideration*. The canals were made to secure commercial benefits; they never would have been made solely for the sake of revenue, although as experience has proved that consideration might have justified the measure.

But, Sir, the chairman has himself given the refutation of the doc-

trine. In speaking of the projectors of the policy, he says, "they foresaw the advantages to the state, in the facility which canals would give to the interchange of commodities; in the increased value, not only of our public lands, but of those of our individual citizens within the sphere of their influence; and in the vast variety of benefits which flow from the successful prosecution of such public undertakings, and the means thereby afforded of establishing a home market, for our surplus products, which alone will sustain the great and paramount interest of our country, when its foreign commerce is shackled by the restrictions of other nations."

The objects of the canal policy are clearly set forth in the early public documents upon that subject. The idea, that revenue was the controlling and primary object, is no where to be found. It is not, however, necessary to resort to them for proof. The objects of the canal policy have been fully expressed in a more recent public paper. Gov. Clinton in his message in 1828—the last of his public documents—stated them with brevity, clearness and force. He was constrained to do it to correct erroneous impressions. No man knew better what were the objects of that policy, or the views of its authors. And I use his message, in lieu of the earlier papers, with the more willingness, because his authority, and that very document have been resorted to by the opponents of this bill. This is his explicit and emphatic language.

"Considering the high reputation and the great revenue which this state has derived from her internal improvements, it is equally astonishing and mortifying to observe elaborate and systematic attempts to deprecate their utility, and to arrest their progress. It is manifestly an uncandid and superficial view of the subject, to confine an estimate of its benefits, to an excess of income above the interest and expenditure; and yet this standard of appreciation has been adopted. Artificial navigation was established for the public accommodation, for the conveyance of articles to and from market, and revenue is a subordinate object. It was never intended as a primary consideration to fill the coffers of the state, but to augment the general opulence, to animate all the springs of industry and exertion, and to bring home to every man's door, an easy and economical means of access, to the most advantageous places of sale and purchase. And to narrow down this momentous and comprehensive subject to a mere question of dollars and cents, is to lose sight of the great elements of individual opulence, of public wealth and national prosperity: It excludes from consideration, the one hundred millions of

dollars which have, in all probability, been added to the value of real estate; the immense appreciation of all the products of agriculture and fabrics of manufactures, which were formerly shut out in a great degree from market—the solid and extensive establishment of inland trade—the vast accession of our marketable productions—the unbounded encouragement of our marine navigation and external commerce—the facility, rapidity and economy of communication—the creation of a denser population, and the erection and increase of villages, towns and cities and the most efficient encouragement of agriculture and the arts, by a cheap supply of materials for fabrics, and of markets for accommodation: But if we were to overlook these important considerations and confine ourselves to the mere question of revenue, we will see enough to convince the most sceptical, that immense pecuniary benefits must flow from new channels of hydraulic communication with the Susquehannah, the Allegany, the St. Lawrence, and their auxiliary and connecting waters.”

While I have the book open before me, I beg your indulgence to read a few paragraphs, which, although they have no direct bearing upon the point I am now considering, I shall have occasion to use, in the course of my remarks, particularly, in reply to to my colleague from Herkimer, who has referred to the same as authority.

“The Erie and Champlain canal have cost between 20 and 30,000 dollars a mile, and this enormous expenditure will never occur again: All the mysteries of such operations are developed, and all the difficulties diminished, and it may be now confidently pronounced, that the maximum expense of any given canal will not exceed 10,000 dollars a mile, unless it passes over high mountains by locks, inclined plains, or deep cuttings, or under them by extensive tunnels. The opposition to the extension of internal navigation, is based upon an application of the same ratio of expenditure on the constructed, to the contemplated canals: but, admitting what is peremptorily denied, that the income from the former does not exceed something more than seven per cent, yet it will even then be evident that the state will gain two and a half per cent, by the operation, as loans can be procured on her credit, at four and a half per cent.

I cannot, without going too much into detail, refute the other fallacious statements which have been mingled with this subject. The reduction of the mill tax to half a mill on the dollar, and its subsequent total discontinuance, (in violation of a fundamental arrangement in that part of our finance, connected with internal improvements,) have been careful-

ly concealed, as well as the omission to substitute, as an equivalent, specific, productive taxes, and which would in either case have satisfied all the exigencies of the Treasury, and answered all the requirements for internal improvements, without imposing but light burdens on the community : Nor can it be concealed, that the real condition of our finances has been greatly discoloured and misunderstood by inaccurate views and partial examinations. I therefore do not hesitate to renew in the most earnest manner, my recommendations in favor of the leading objects of internal improvement, which I have heretofore had the honor to present for your favourable consideration. The means of the state are ample ; her resources great ; her credit equal to any emergency. Every day adds to her wealth, and every avenue of communication will augment her ability, and expand her fame. The constant and progressive increase of the canal revenue, and the correspondent diminution of the debt ; will in a few years produce a total extinguishment, enable at an early period a reduction of interest, and finally enhance to an extent beyond any reasonable demand, the ability of the state to undertake and consummate all needful improvements. And if patriotism still supports its ascendancy ; if glory has not lost its incentives ; if philanthropy retains its due weight, you have every inducement to act promptly and favorably, fearlessly and efficiently, in the prosecution of these transcendent interests."

No further evidence I trust is necessary to exhibit clearly and truly the objects of the canal policy. They were first, and chiefly the attainment, and extension of commercial advantages.

Secondly, And as an auxiliary and subordinate consideration, the creation of a new source of revenue. I solicit your indulgence while I show you how amply both those objects have been attained. Think, sir, of the hundred millions of property which, according to the document to which we all refer as authority, the canals have created. Do you doubt the fact ? Then look along the line of the Erie, and behold the villages that formerly existed, grown from the size of an infant to that of a giant ; cast your eyes upon the new creation that every where greets them ; survey the towns that have sprung into existence, and taken the place of woods and swamps ; see them thronged with a busy, active, bustling population, exhibiting all the life, spirit and hopes, of enterprise, business, and commerce. Turn off from the route of the canals ; traverse the whole "infected district." You can do it in safety. You will every where meet a welcome, ready and warm, cordial and kind ; You will find plenty of indomitable spirit, but it is as gentle as it is un-

conquerable. Examine the lands now subjected to cultivation; count the "cattle upon a thousand hills;" look at the flocks of sheep surpassing in number, if not in quality, any that can be exhibited in Dutchess; the patriotic county that led the van in this species of improvement. Look, examine the sleek and husbandlike farms; the neat, comfortable, and substantial dwellings, and the superabundant stores. Enquire as to the annual wheat fields, and estimate the amount of the crop. Ascertain its value, at the period when you commenced your canal system, and its value now; enquire also as to the worth of farms then, and now; extend your enquiries if you choose, as to the amount of individual debts; there will be no reluctance to tell—then, and now. Contemplate the results of all these examinations, and then doubt if you can, that an hundred millions is a moderate estimate for the property created by the canals. All this is produced by the extension of commercial facilities. I speak not now of the benefits conferred, in the same manner, upon the city of New-York. I will hereafter present them to your view. Probably a still more accurate method of determining the commercial effects of the canals, is to ascertain the diminution in the expense of transportation. On that point I have sought information from authentic sources; from those who were engaged in the business before, and have been since, the completion of the canals.

The canal board last year estimated the expense of transportation before the completion, from Albany to Buffalo at, from eighty to an hundred dollars a ton. That may be correct, but my enquires establish a less sum, as the average, and I shall use it because it produces a result less favourable to the canals. My information is, that for seven years previous to the completion of the canals, the average expense of transportation from Albany to Buffalo was *seventy* dollars a ton, and since the completion *nineteen* dollars of which sum \$8,80 was for freight, and \$10,20 for tolls. And the expense of transportation from Buffalo to Albany for the same period, before the completion was *fifty* dollars a ton, and since the completion it has been *ten* dollars, of which *five* is freight, and *five* for tolls. This furnishes us with a rule by which to estimate the amount saved by the canals in the expense of transportation. The saving on the ascending trade is *fifty one* dollars a ton, which is precisely *five* times the amount of tolls. The saving on the descending trade is *forty* dollars, which is exactly *eight* times the amount of tolls. There has been the same rateable saving between any two intermediate points, as between those extremities. If then the ascending and descending transportation were equal, the saving would be six and a half times

the amount of the tolls paid. But that is not the fact. The amount of descending transportation, on which there is the largest saving, in weight, far exceeds the ascending. For the sake of safety, we will take the saving at six times the amount of toll, although that is probably much too low. The whole amount of tolls received, is upwards of five millions of dollars, and consequently the saving in the expense of transportation, exceeds thirty millions of dollars. But I shall be told and truly, that if the canals had not been constructed, there would not have been the same amount of transportation. True indeed it is, and now you begin to perceive the still greater advantages of the canals. They have been the generators as well as the conductors of commerce. Their claims are still further enhanced; for as to all that mass of property which would never have reached a market without them, they have given to it, not merely the saving in transportation, but all its value. They have given value to that which before was valueless. Sir, you will do well, if you can settle that account by allowing the saving in the expense of transportation. A further scrutiny will greatly enhance the amount. The result of the whole operation has been to concentrate in the city of New York an immense amount of commerce, that would never have existed without the canals. Some idea of the extent of this new trade may be obtained from the fact that an amount of wheat and flour, nearly equal to 700,000 barrels of flour were brought, the last season, from beyond Utica, all destined to that market. Is it nothing to our commercial metropolis, to receive such an amount of that staple of commerce from a region, whence not enough for a biscuit would have been received without the Erie canal? Add also the vast amount of other products, that were still less able to bear the expense of land transportation, which now reach that city, and find a profitable market. And is it nothing to the city to supply in return all this vast region with merchandise? Let us look at the population of the city of New York for the last forty years. In 1790, 30,000; in 1800, 60,000; 1810, 90,000; 1820, 123,000, and 1830, 213,000. For the first period of twenty years, not essentially varying from one *tenth* of the population of the state, falling to one *eleventh* part in 1820, and now amounting to one *ninth*. What new and powerful impulse has been given to it within the last ten years? What has sent it with such increased rapidity on the road of advancement? Not foreign commerce. The state of the world has not been favourable to enterprise in that department. Indeed, its domestic commerce has been essential to its foreign commerce. Without the former, its foreign commerce must have been exceedingly dimin-

ished from what it has enjoyed. To the extension of its domestic commerce, produced essentially by the canals, it owes all its increased advancement. Indeed without that resource, it may well be questioned, whether the rate of its increase for the last ten years would have equalled that of the ten years preceeding. Tell me then what portion of the 90,000 inhabitants added to its population in the last ten years, was sent and established there, by means of your canals? If you can determine that, you can form some idea of the portion of the present business and wealth of that city, which you must ascribe to the same cause. And for what sum do you think sir, that city would consent to forego the future benefits, to be derived from your canals? Sir, I make no extravagant assertion, when I say, that rather than have those avenues closed up, the city of New York alone would, at once, pay your whole canal debt. And is it nothing sir, to the neighbouring countries, that oppose the canal system, to have the advantages of such a market, as that great and increasing city affords? Is it nothing to Orange to have a city of 200,000, rather than 100,000 to supply with butter? Ask her sturdy yeomanry, of clear intelligence, and lofty independence, who know so well how to get up a *butter excitement*, and bring the proud metropolis to submission. Is it nothing to the other grazing counties upon the river, to be enabled to take the advantages of favorable prices for their beef, pork, mutton, as well as the products of the soil? Is it nothing to Long Island to have the first chance in such a market for her poultry, her vegetables and her fruits? Tell me, Sir, are the canals nothing to the river counties, when the canal commissioners assert, in their admired report of 1825, that even then leached ashes had been transported from Washington to Long Island? Is it nothing to good old Suffolk, to have her long tilled-fields, fertilized from Washington, and nothing to Washington, to be enriched by the musty dollars, drawn from the long stuffed, untied bags of old Suffolk?

Sir, steam and canals have made neighbors of the extremities of our state. They have enabled remote sections, to exchange commodities and increase each other's wealth and comforts. Is there a county in the state that would relinquish the advantage to itself, from the anticipated growth of New-York, resulting solely from operations of the canals? For what sum? There is a strange propensity in man, when he enjoys commercial facilities, to oppose improvements which may admit others to a participation. He seldom profits by the lessons of experience, but continues his opposition after the test of experiment has banished his fears, exploded his theories, and refuted his reasoning. It is

said that the agriculturalists in the vicinity of London, opposed, fiercely, all internal improvements, and after witnessing and enjoying their practical benefits, continued their opposition to every new project, until their pasture lands were actually converted into gardens.

Indulge me, Sir, in a few remarks more, on the subject of the beneficial effects of the canals upon the prosperity of the city of New-York; and the benefits to the whole state, thence resulting from the same cause. The interest of the city and the country are intimately blended. The improvements in intercourse have increased the connexion, and rendered it indissoluble. The capital of the city is now employed to vivify, stimulate and reward industry, throughout all its various departments. No great calamity can befall the city without affecting all our great interests; nor can it experience alone, any unusual tide of prosperity. But the genial flow is felt, and quickly, in every section of the state. In fact, the prosperity of the city is the prosperity of the country. It is by advancing the city, by means of the canals, that parts of the state not directly benefitted, by them, are made to partake in their benefits. How is the continued advancement of the city to be secured? Undoubtedly by attracting to it all the foreign commerce which the condition of the world will permit. But over that condition, our legislation can have but little control. Foreign legislation and foreign policy may counteract our efforts, and defeat our purposes. Our legislation can influence only its domestic commerce, and that commerce must continue to be, as it now is, the aliment of its foreign commerce. And how is that domestic commerce to be increased? By new facilities; by opening new avenues. Every canal you make, which is tributary to those already in operation, throws an additional amount of trade into your metropolis. It benefits not merely the section through which it runs, but your city directly, and through that, indirectly every other part of the state.

It is by the concentration of domestic commerce in that city, that we are to secure its continued advancement and promised elevation. Increasing at the same rate, as during the last ten years, it will have in 1840, a population of 370,000. While we indulge a just pride, in contemplating what that city is, we may experience more abundant felicity in anticipating what it may become. The chairman has expressed, in beautiful language, his animating hopes of its future exaltation. Let him unite with us, in furnishing the means of securing and increasing its prosperity, and then his inflated expectations may be realized. He may live to see her, exalted in commercial importance—diffusing blessings far and wide, exalted still more in moral and intellectual worth; her “en-

obling charities" increased in number, and extended in usefulness, her institutions multiplied, elevated in character and object, abounding in the treasures of science, patronising genius, encouraging art, befriending humanity, giving impulse and direction to the human mind, displaying the beneficent uses of superabundant wealth, and constituting the essential adornment and glory of this western hemisphere.

Sir, I present you these views to shew how well the canals have fulfilled the main purpose of their construction, the attainment and extension of commercial advantages.

If your patience will permit, we will now see what they have done in point of revenue :

The Erie and Champlain canals have been in full operation, but five years, and the amount of tolls received, after payment of all the expenses of collection, is \$5,027,625. The amount during the last five years, is \$4,128,251 ; giving an average of \$825,650 a year, and equal to about nine per cent on the whole cost of construction, including the expenditure for additions, alterations and improvements. And, for the last year, the actual receipts were \$1,005,399, more than *eleven* per cent upon the whole cost. • Is not this enough to satisfy reasonable beings ? Whoever expected the canals would yield tolls before they were made ? They produce them abundantly since they were completed, and they only want a little time, not half what you have obtained of your creditors to pay off your whole canal debt, and pour copious streams of revenue into your treasury.

But it is said that sanguine calculations have heretofore been made of their products, which have not been realized. No documents are presented, no proofs are offered to shew any such bloated calculations or lank results. I will give you proof that the highest estimates have been far exceeded. And for that purpose I call your attention to the report of the canal commissioners of 1825, which, at my instance, you read to the committee. And who, Sir, can approach that report without admiring it ? If those commissioners had *never written any thing else*, it would have remained forever a monument of their capacity. The time was peculiarly auspicious and exhilarating. The great work entrusted to their charge was near its completion. Full of grateful feelings, at its eventful history and successful progress, they then stood on an eminence, whence they surveyed all that was past, all that then existed, and they assumed to extend their view far into the land of promise. All their powers were put into requisition ; whatever of judgment, whatever of genius, whatever of imagination, whatever of calculation they posses-

sed, were exerted to the utmost, to construct a memorial, honorable to their own skill and fidelity, and to present a splendid exhibition of the energy, the enterprise and glory of New-York. They ransacked creation in search of rich materials for gorgeous embellishment. They dipped their pencil in the rain-bow, to portray a picture of approaching prosperity, for admiration to gaze at. The sun and moon were not, indeed, to stand still, in wonder and amazement, at the stupenduous structure, but the charmed seasons were to grow grateful and change their character, to give more unlimited success to the enterprise. Then, when their hearts glowed with patriotic pride, at the contemplation of the past; then when their souls swelled with rapturous delight, at the anticipation of the future, then when they felt the "*inspiration of poetry*," and were not *afflicted* with its "*melancholly madness*," we should have expected extravagance, if extravagance had been possible. Time, that never fails to test the truth of prophesy, as well as the merit of things, has brought us to a point where we can compare prediction with reality. Let us make that comparison, and we shall see how greatly "the celerity of their thoughts, *lagged behind the velocity*" of the advancement of their works.*

I will present you the highest calculation which they ventured to make, and that too, founded upon an anticipated increase of tolls at the rate of seventy-five thousand dollars a year. In 1826, the tolls they anticipated, were \$500,000; the actual tolls, expenses all deducted, were \$715,215; in 1827, the anticipated tolls were \$575,000; the actual tolls were \$845,971; in 1828, the anticipated tolls were \$650,000, the actual tolls, \$792,587; in 1829, the anticipated tolls were \$725,000, the actual tolls, \$769,056; in 1830, the anticipated tolls were \$800,000, and the actual tolls proved to be, after paying all expenses of collection, \$1,005,399. In 1825, the commissioners declared, if the tolls reached a million in ten years it would be expedient to construct a new canal, on the north side of the Mohawk; they did reach a million in five years, and now it is "*unconstitutional to construct any canal*."

Then if the tolls reached a million in ten years, the canal debt would be paid before it was due, and prolific revenues from that source would banish forever, the idea of taxation; they did reach a million in five years, and now "*internal improvements, when stripped, by time, of their gaudy trappings, are nothing but ETERNAL TAXATION*." Then, the ca-

*The chairman, in speaking of the speed of cars, upon a rail road, had used the expression, "their velocity only lagged behind the celerity of thought."

nals were to be promotive of all human happiness; now, it is impious to construct them, because, "when God condescended to legislate for mankind, internal improvements escaped the ken of infinite wisdom." Sir, the human disposition is a curious thing. A great man, Longinus, said, and a still more wonderful being, Napoleon, repeated, that there was but a "single step from the sublime to the ridiculous."

I will now ask your attention, while I shew you the abundance of revenue for all its purposes. My calculation will be founded on the assumption, that there will be no increase of revenue or diminution of expenditure. And yet neither of these suppositions will be correct. I shall speak of the increase of revenue hereafter.

The subject of expenditures deserves consideration. The public attention is awake to it. Those expenditures have been enormous. Last year, the whole canal board told us, in answer to a resolution, that they could not give encouragement that there would be any diminution. This year, the canal commissioners inform us that those expenditures were reduced last year, \$80,000, about one-fourth of the whole previous expenditure. At the same time, they tell us they constructed, during the last year, more than an hundred bridges, besides numerous aqueducts, culverts, and other permanent works; and they now assure us of a prospect of a still further reduction.

The commissioners of the canal fund, admit the fact of a diminution in the expenditures, but make the amount only about \$54,000. We are accustomed to such differencies. I shall not stop to enquire which is accurate, but satisfied with the fact of a substantial retrenchment, and encouraged by the promise of a still greater, I leave those functionaries to reconcile their conflicting statements.

Let us now test the sufficiency of the canal revenues, for all the purposes ever contemplated, upon the assumption, that there shall be no increase of revenue or diminution of expenditure. The nominal amount of the Erie and Champlain debt, on the first of January last, was \$7,001,035.86.

The amount of fund on hand, applicable to the payment of that debt, and which might be immediately applied, if any part of the debt were redeemable, is \$1,648,096.95; which, deducted from the nominal amount, leaves the real debt, \$5,352,938.91. Of that fund \$260,000 is invested in stocks, yielding an interest of \$13,500, and the residue \$1,388,96.95, is in deposit, at interest, at the rate of three and a half per cent. But I speak advisedly and on information derived from the most authentic

sources, from those who will themselves pay it, when I assert, that you may have at least four per cent. The surplus derived from the ordinary sources of revenue, without interest, last year, exceeded \$700,000. I take your fund at what it now is, add an annual surplus of \$700,000, and compute interest upon it, at the rate of four per cent. Upon these data you will have on the first of January, 1838, a fund of \$7,690,665-31. On the first of July, preceding, there will have become redeemable, of your canal debt, \$3,489,000; which will, of course, be paid; and you will have on the first of January, 1838, after making that payment, a fund \$4,201,665,31, a sum larger than your whole remaining debt. From that time, your canal revenues will be released from the payment of near \$195,000, of interest and the annual surplus thence forward may be fairly assumed, at \$900 000. Pursuing the same mode of computation, you will have, on the first of January, 1846, a fund of \$13,927,468,53.

The residue of the Erie and Champlain debt, amounting to \$3,512,035,86, will have become due on the first of July, preceding, and after that is paid, you will have remaining a fund of \$10,415,432,67, uncumbered and applicable to any purposes of the state. The interest upon that fund, at four per cent, will exceed the whole amount of your annual expenditures.

Sir, I tremble when I think, what *may be done*, with such a fund. A national debt is an evil, because it gives the government power over individuals, which it may use for the purposes of corruption. But for all the objects of political profligacy, a national fund is infinitely more dangerous. Such, Sir, have been the actual results of your canals, in point of revenue, and such the promise of the future. But is the assumption correct, that there will be no further increase of tolls? Every view you can take of the subject, refutes the supposition. Last year, the commissioners of the canal fund, made an estimate of the canal revenues, and the expected surplus, and they now are constrained to tell you, that their estimate is exceeded in the results, by about the sum of \$260,000.

I too, made an estimate, founded upon a supposition of an annual surplus of \$500,000. I ventured too, at the same time, to present you another estimate on the assumption, that the surplus would be \$700,000, and exhibiting a result similar to the one I have now presented. And who gave it credence. I am confident not one of all who heard me. The experience of one short year, has surpassed all our calculations. If you look to the regions whence the commodities come, on

which your tolls are imposed, do you see evidence of a diminution? Is the western portion of your own state at a stand still, or on the decline? The direct reverse is the fact. The west was never advancing with greater rapidity. Populous and strong as it is, great as its means and resources are, it is yet in no point of view, at maturity. In enterprise, intelligence and patriotism, it has, indeed, banished competition; but its exhibitions are yet but the efforts of immature age and strength. You see now only the bloom and promise of its youth; you are hereafter to witness the fruits and powers of its manhood. Vast portions of its fertile lands are yet in wilderness, and those which have been subdued by the arm of industry, have not yet been put to the extent of their capacity. From that region there will be a continued increase of commodities for transportation, liable it is true, to be measurably effected by the degree of fruitfulness of the seasons. But Sir, what lies beyond your own dominions. A world with which your intercourse has just commenced. The canal commissioners tell you, and truly, that much of the unexpected increase in your tolls, last year, was owing to the commerce of the "far west."

Until the last year, you have experienced but little benefit from that commerce. Heretofore, the demand for the products of the soil, for the supply of emigrants, together with your high tolls, and the want of facilities of transportation, at home, have prevented their transmission to New-York. The demand for the supply of emigrants, is relatively diminishing, while the surplus of their products is constantly increasing. By the opening of the Ohio canal, the expenses of transportation are diminished, and facilities of communication extended to a great and abounding portion of that state. Last year, only a small portion of that canal was in a condition for use, and that, not till the season was far advanced. Yet you felt the effects upon your tolls, and your public functionaries were astounded at them. That canal will begin the ensuing season, with 190 miles of navigation, besides its branches, and one year more will give you passage from Lake Erie to the Ohio. You will then have access to the whole valley of the Ohio, and Mississippi. Sir, what a region is that; the greatest and most delightful of this Union; vast in extent, and vaster still in its resources; with a climate so mild as hardly to interrupt the process of vegetation; with a soil that affords all the products required by human wants, and yields them luxuriantly to the hand of labour; abounding in all the treasures of the earth, and the forest; doubling its enterprising population every ten years, and advancing with "rapid strides to destinies beyond the reach of mortal

eye." Such, Sir, is the region that offers you its commerce. And do you think it no object of attainment? Come it will, to some extent. Your policy may do much to hasten or retard it, and increase or diminish its amount. Sir, you can form no adequate estimate of what it may be. Do not presume Sir, to measure the products of that region by what they have been. Think you, the husbandman will raise no more, from a soil of almost boundless capacity, when his products bring him a harvest of gold, then he did when, except what his necessities required, they perished where they grew. Sir, the capital of your metropolis is already at work in that region, performing its magic wonders. Instead of small fields, half tilled, half harvested, if you follow the reaper there, hereafter, you will find vast but clean fields to glean on. Time, though but little, where enterprise abounds, is requisite to enable commercial advantages to produce their stimulating effects. Do you apprehend that commerce will flow in other channels? Look at facts and banish fears. Three incidents, are essential to a successful commerce. Cheapness of transportation, certainty and safety; all these are secured by your canal navigation. And whenever you choose, you can still further reduce the expense, by a reduction of the tolls. No other channel combines these controlling requisites to so great a degree. If the commerce of the west seeks the ocean through the Mississippi, it must encounter greater difficulties, and be exposed to the dangers of the elements; of the changes in the current of the river at its mouth, and of a climate, destructive alike of life, and property. A heavy insurance will be required, and if in case of loss, the full amount be paid and promptly, the merchant is not indemnified, for he loses his profits, and suffers interruption in his business. Sir, you cannot turn your mind to any view of the subject without coming to the same conclusion, that your commerce and your tolls are destined to a vast augmentation. Do not forget Sir, that where any people sell their products, there they buy their merchandize, and that they make their purchases in proportion to their means. An increase of tolls on the trade descending your canals, ensures an increase upon that ascending. Will you persist longer in the belief that you are to have no further increase of your canal revenue? In spite of your lamentations and dismal forebodings, it will continue to flow upon you, till it gluts your coffers with its superabundance. The cost of the canals has been again pressed upon us, and you will pardon me therefore, while I bestow upon that subject, some consideration. It is really a matter of curiosity, that no man can tell, at this day, what they did cost, and that statements made by public officers, are so different in

amount. In 1826, the commissioners of the canal fund stated the cost to be \$9,237,237 48. In 1828, the canal commissioners assert that according to a statement of the Comptroller, the cost was \$9,108,299, and they adopt that sum as the true amount, when as they say their object was to "correct erroneous impressions, and disabuse the public mind." I assume that as the cost, first, because it was the statement of the Comptroller, and in the Comptroller of *that day*, we all have confidence, and he has recently received a flattering renewal of it from the Legislature. Secondly, I assume it because the canal commissioners asserted its correctness at a time, when their minds were intent upon the point, and they were acting under a solemn responsibility. Of this amount, they assert that the original cost was only \$7,519,395 00, and that \$1,621,274,00, had been expended for additions, alterations, and improvements. I agree with my colleague from Herkimer, (Mr. Benton) that the latter sum may be properly reckoned as a part of the cost of the canals. The constructions, for which it was expended, were appendages of, and useful, if not necessary to, the main work. Pardon me Sir, if I insist upon that principle hereafter in reference to a mode of charging for similar expenditures adopted by the canal board. But if there is uncertainty as to the cost, there is none as to the present amount of the debt. Deduct the fund on hand from the nominal amount, and the real debt is only \$5,352,938 91. That is all that would remain of it, after the application of your existing fund. State the amount of the cost then, as high as you please. The answer is, the canals have been in full operation only five years, and that is all that remains unprovided for, of the debt to your public creditors. But the chairman has discovered two items never recorded before, and paraded them in his report. One is Grand Island, estimated at \$60,000, and made a charge in favour of the general fund against the canals. The chairman is mistaken when he says that this island was appropriated at the commencement of the canal system. If he will look in the laws of 1820, he will find an Act entitled an "Act to authorise the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the city of Albany to dispose of their public lands by Lottery." The last section of that act provides, that the proceeds of Grand Island, when the legislature shall direct it to be sold, shall be applied to the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals. So Sir, it was not exclusively with reference to the canals, that this appropriation was made. Albany wanted to sell her commons by lottery; for that the passage of an act was necessary. The good name of the canal was used to effect a purpose, if not to sanctify a deed. The Legis-

lature had been memorialized to grant that island, for a very special object. I know not what influence that might have had upon its transfer and sale. But it was sold, no bonds taken, and it has reverted upon your hands. There it is, I pray you, take it back; the canals have not hurt it; they do not want, and cannot use it. The care of it is a charge upon the canal fund. Its transfer has effected one of its objects. Albany has sold her commons, or is in the way of doing it. You can take it back without difficulty. It is not included in the pledge. The public creditors no more look to Grand Island for payment, than they do to the fact, that it shall be the future residence of the scattered tribes of Israel. Take it back and restore it to the fund from which you took it. The chairman has also discovered that there was expended the sum of \$42,957, for "preliminary examinations and surveys," anterior to 1817, and that sum is now, for the first time, made a charge against the canals. This is now claimed for the general fund. I rejoice that this discovery has been made, because it discloses the important fact that \$42,957 is all that was ever drawn from the treasury to construct these great works. More I admit has been stopped from going in, but that is all that has been taken out; to construct the Erie and Champlain canals. But if this be a proper charge against the canals, why has it not been paid. How does it happen that it was never thought of before. Are your public officers chargeable with negligence during all this long intervening period? If it be a part of the canal debt, why not pay it now? The means are abundant. If I were of council for the canal, I would advise him to make an immediate tender of the money. I would stop the interest if not the *clamor*. The chairman has introduced the report of the canal Board, made last year, to the Senate in compliance with a resolution, and vouched for its correctness. We might, Sir, perhaps hold him responsible as endorser, but I did not understand him to assert its accuracy upon his own knowledge, or to affirm that he had subjected it to any tests. Until he has, I should think it cruel to hold him responsible, for an undertaking, produced perhaps by too generous a confidence.

I bestowed some attention upon that report at the last session, and did hope never to have heard of it again. But, as it is thrust upon us, to influence our deliberations, and perhaps to create impressions in the community, unfavourable to the Canal Policy, I propose to test the accuracy of its statements, and correctness of its principles. The Canal Board asserted, and upon their authority, the Chairman has repeated, that on the first of January, 1830, the Canals were indebted to the state

in the sum of \$12,237,399 70, and that "they had then paid nothing towards the extinguishment of their debt, and not even the annual interest." For the last year, it is admitted, they yielded an excess of \$109,752 10. Bear in mind, Sir, that the assertion is, that such was the amount of the debt, and that the *canals had paid nothing*. I have brought down the calculation to the first of January, of this year; but to avoid all possibility of error in my own calculations, I prefer to take the statement where the canal board left it. It is equally sure as a test, and a continuance of it to the first of the present year, would only exhibit the result in a little more glaring light. I assume, therefore, the debt from the canals to the state, on the first of January, 1830, as they affirm, at \$12,237,399 70. Add to that the amount of the old surveys, since found, \$42,957, and the interest upon that sum \$45,104,85. I will not assert that the interest is accurate, for I am not expert in compounding.

The whole amount of debt, on the principle of the canal board, on the first of January, 1830, was \$12,325,461,55. The other assertion is, that the canals had paid nothing. That debt consists of two portions; one due to the public creditors, and the other to the general fund. If the canals had paid nothing, then all that had been paid to the public creditors, had been received from the general fund. In proportion, therefore, as the debt to the public creditors decreased, that to the general fund increased. The aggregate of these two debts, should constitute the whole amount of debt. Now let us see, Sir, if that sum will prove. The nominal amount of debt to the public creditors, on the first of January, 1830, was \$7,032,013,00, and the amount of fund then on hand, including the amounts due from the tributary canals, and which have since been paid, was \$926,099,08, which, deducted from the nominal, left the real debt, \$6,105,913,92, which, deducted from the asserted debt, \$12,325,461,55, left the amount which had been paid, \$6,219,557,63. That, then, is the sum which should be the amount of contributions from the general fund. Yet the canal board states, the whole debt to the general fund, with the interest cast and compounded, at only \$4,633,990,32, which deducted from the amount that had been paid, leaves the sum of \$1,585,557,31 entirely unaccounted for. That has been paid. Sir, do not be alarmed. It will never re-appear to annoy us. It will not come up seventeen years hence, like the old surveys, to trouble those who may be in our places. No Sir, it is actually paid; but how was it done? Not from the general fund, for all you obtained there, you have applied and exhausted. Then tell us where you got the money? Not from the canals. No they have paid nothing. So say the canal board, and so

repeats the chairman. And they are "all, all honorable men." Tell us then where you found it. It was a clever sum; more than enough to construct the Chenango canal. In what secret caverns was it hid. Give us a chance to search, there may be more there. Tell us frankly. The disclosure may banish many delusions. It may prevent moon-stricken beings from searching longer, by torch-light, for Kid's hidden treasures. Sir, that sum won't prove. There are a variety of other tests to which I had intended to subject that statement, but the chairman does not affirm its accuracy upon his own knowledge, and my colleague from Herkimer, wisely abandons its defence. I will only ask the chairman to take the statement to pieces, examine its component parts, make the calculations himself, and then replace the items so as to produce the result. I fancy he will find them like the pieces of Stanton's letter to Jenny Deans; "he who would gar them up and pit them thegither again, wee'l hae o'er muckle trouble to do it." But for its errors of calculation, I care but little. They can produce no lasting injury. Its errors in principle, are more serious and important. The objection is not, that the canal board cast and compounded the interest on proper items, but that they have made improper charges against the canals. The canal board, in that same report, admit that a portion of the salt and auction duties, ought to be credited, instead of being charged to the canals. They have even undertaken to determine what portion, and yet have made their calculation upon the principle that the canals were to be charged *with the whole amount*. They have so charged. When, therefore, they assert that the canals on the first of January, 1830, were indebted to the state, in the sum of \$12,237,399 70; they make an assertion which, upon their own declared principle, is incorrect. Why was this? Why were these columns of figures, and this imposing result, presented to the public, when, in every particular, it was known to be wrong? Not only is the final result erroneous, but every other result, is incorrect upon their own principle. The calculation as to the salt and auction duties commenced in 1818. They begun in error and continued in error throughout. And not content with the original error, they added error to error every successive year. The whole calculation, therefore, from beginning to end, is one elaborate error. Not one of all its statements correct, not one of its results accurate; and yet this collection of blunders and errors, is presented to shew the operation of our canals and to influence public opinion in relation to our policy of internal improvements.

In that report the canal board has charged, as repairs, the cost of new

constructions. Expenditures, to a large amount for additions, alterations and improvements, are included in that statement, as ordinary repairs. These expenditures are of precisely the same character as those which in 1828, the canal commissioners insisted, ought not to be reckoned as apart of the canal, but should be deemed new and separate works. Surely if they could not be reckoned as belonging to, they cannot be considered as repairs of, the canal. For the sake of convenience in keeping the accounts from year to year, there may be no evil in classing them as repairs, if the proper distinctions be made in the annual reports, but in an account, professing to shew the state of the canals with the general fund, it is a palpable error to reckon them as repairs. The effect is, to absorb the canal revenues, and produce erroneous and deceptive results as to their productiveness. If such expenditures were charged as the cost of new constructions, and the interest upon the amount only, charged upon the canal revenues, it would produce a result widely different and exactly according with truth.

It cannot be perceived upon what principle the steam-boat tax is claimed for the general fund. For the purpose of shewing the cost of the canals, it is proper to present it, but it never belonged to the general fund. That tax was imposed expressly on account of the canals, and it may well be assumed, that it never would have been imposed, but for that purpose. It was not a product of the canals, and, therefore, not to be credited to them, but it no more belongs to the general fund than to the canals. It may be well, also, to remember, when we think of the cost of the canals, that the steam-boat tax was paid alike, by citizens and strangers.

The auction duties are also claimed for the general fund.

The canal board in the report, under examination, admit that a small portion of these duties ought, in fairness, to be credited to the canals. With what propriety can these duties be called a fund. They constituted an extremely good source of revenue, but they were no more a fund, than a tax on pedler's, licenses, or a direct tax. Duties were imposed upon goods sold at auctions, and like all revenues, the avails went into the treasury until they received a specific appropriation. And who, Sir, paid these auction duties? They were paid by the consumers of the goods. And who were they? First, all the inhabitants of this state, and secondly, all the inhabitants of the whole union. There is not a state, probably not a county or town, possibly not an individual, in this nation, who has not paid a portion of your auction duties. Who then built your canals? You have all the glory of the enterprise;

of the splendour of the achievement, but you will be troubled to find an individual in this land who has not contributed to pay the cost of their construction.

Being such a tax, imposed in such a manner, and paid like a tax upon seamen and passengers, by every body, citizens and strangers, Americans and foreigners; the revenues derived, therefrom, were peculiarly fit for specific appropriations. The sum of \$33,500, annually, had been devoted to some of the "enobling charities," of New-York, and other sums would unquestionably have received similar direction, if the canal system had not been commenced. As the canals would increase the auction duties, it was especially proper, that the revenues derived therefrom, should be devoted to defray the cost of their construction. Such was the wisdom of the authors of the canal policy. The chairman says, that New-York, when she adopted the federal constitution, surrendered her imposts, a source of very abundant revenue. It is true, Sir, but how came you by your imposts? Your commercial position gave you advantages, and like all mankind, you were prone to use them. You layed imposts, by which you drew revenue from the pockets of your neighbors. To secure greater advantages,—blessings which the wealth of the world could not purchase—you consented to surrender your imposts but *you never relinquished your disposition to tax your neighbors.* You imposed the auction duty—that was not an impost, but it belonged to the family; it was a blood relation. It answered the purpose; it brought you large revenues, which the inhabitants of other states, and countries contributed to pay. And do you think you would have imposed it, if you had been in danger of retaliation? From this resource, the canal fund has received about \$2,500,000 which, except the portion that has been created by the canals, would have gone into the treasury, and been subject to a different disposition. Of this amount, probably more than one-half, although on this point, accuracy is impossible, has been paid by the inhabitants of other states.

And who pay your tolls? Your own citizens, I admit have hitherto paid the bulk, but New-England and Canada, pay no inconsiderable sums; and the west, the glorious west, now pays much and will soon pay more abundantly. To use a figure of my colleague on another subject, by your tolls, you tax the whole "western world, and by your auction duties, the eastern hemisphere." And, Sir, does it become the great state of New-York, when she subjects the whole union to taxation, to be very parsimonious in her expenditures, for great objects of internal improvement?

My colleague from Herkimer, to shew the little effect which the canals have had upon the auction duties, tells you that in 1815 the revenue from that source was greater than in 1830.

Sir, was it in accordance with the usual and exemplary fairness and candour of my colleague, to give us the result of 1815, the year that followed the termination of the war, when we all know that in that year, the contents of the work shops of England, were flung upon us. When the long accumulated remnants of the war in this country and in Europe, were forced into the market and sold at auction. Why did not my colleague give us the results of 1817, the year that you commenced the canals? He would have found that the estimate of the comptroller, for that year, was only \$120,000, and that \$72,000 was all that the canal fund received.

Since that period, that revenue has experienced some fluctuation, but it has doubled, trebled and in some years, almost quadrupled in amount. But the most astonishing error prevails in relation to the salt duties. The canal board, admitting that one-third of the revenue, derived from that resource, should be credited to the canals, have made their calculation upon the principle of charging the canals with the whole amount. Without assuming that principle, founded in obvious error, they could not have produced any one of their imposing and adverse results. This enormous error has been adopted by others, and it has come to be an assumption, that the salt duties are a proper charge against the canals in favor of the general fund. It is incredible, that any person of intelligence, should so believe or so assert. It is a great disturber of the correctness of such statements, and the harmony of the calculations founded upon them, that neither the revenue nor the duty had, or ever could have had, an existence without the canals. Previous to the commencement of the canal system, a duty of three cents per bushel had been imposed, which yielded enough to pay the expenses of superintendence and inspection, and afforded a trifle to the treasury. This revenue for 1817, was estimated by the comptroller, at *four thousand* dollars. This is the annual sum which might be claimed for the general fund. In that year, the duty of 12 1-2 cents per bushel was imposed, the revenue appropriated to the canal fund; and the middle section of the canal was commenced. Without that cause, and but for that object, it may be safely affirmed, that such a duty never would have been imposed. And facts justify the conclusion, that the manufacture never could have sustained such a duty.

I have, on a former occasion, presented you what I deem to be the

facts, in relation to the condition of the manufacture, and the operations of the canal upon it. But as this subject is again urged upon us, and as it is important, not only for the exposition of the monstrous error of the report of the canal board, but for other important purposes, I pray your leave, while I re-state them. At the time of the imposition of the present duty, the price of salt at the works, was 25 cents a bushel. It had stood at that price for some years. Wood in the immediate vicinity of the works had become scarce. Supplies were obtained from some distance. The price was high, and the owners of wood lands, in the neighborhood, anticipating greater scarcity and higher prices, were reluctant to sell. The expenses of the manufacture were constantly increasing, and it was sustained with difficulty. But the moment the middle section was undertaken, its condition was changed. The owners woodland, knew that they must make profit of their wood then or never. The opening of the middle section, they clearly saw, would bring the salt springs in contact with forests, whence abundant supplies could be easily obtained. They became more eager to sell, than they had before been reluctant. Wood was hurried to the market. The price of fuel fell, and the expense of the manufacture was, of course reduced. A new impulse was given to it. More hands and more capital were attracted to the work. The price of salt at the works fell, and has been continually falling. The opening of the Oswego canal has had a still further effect to reduce it. By the operation of all these causes; salt, greatly improved in quality, has sunk, in price, from 25 cents to six a bushel.

In consequence of this reduction in price and the facilities of transportation, afforded by the canals, the manufacture and sale have been extended, and the revenue, of course, has been increased. This effect was experienced before any part of the canal was in a condition to be used, and the first year after the imposition of the duty, the revenue ascended from \$4,000 to \$48,000, and has been constantly increasing until it has reached the sum of \$163,000.

Without the canals, no such duty could have been imposed, because it would have crushed the manufacture. And with the original duty only, without the canals, the manufacture could never have been increased to its present amount, on account of the difficulty and expense of transportation. The present duty was imposed solely, with reference to the canals, and without them, never would have been, and without them also, the manufacture could never have received its present extension.

The salt revenue is, therefore, the product of the canals, as much so

as the tolls. There would be as clear propriety and fairness in claiming *them* for the general fund as the salt revenue.

While the canals have reduced the price of the article at the works, they have reduced it also, to the consumer. Notwithstanding the duty, it has been afforded, by the reduction in the expense of transportation, to the consumer, at less than half its former price. The proportion of the auction duty fairly belonging to the canals, would probably exceed the amount of this revenue that could be justly claimed for the general fund. But if we allow that those amounts are equal, the whole of the salt revenue (\$1250,000) should be transferred from the charge to the credit of the canals. Let this be done, and every result of the canal board will be reversed. Instead of the asserted fact, that the canals have not sustained themselves, a balance will be found in their favour, every year since they have been in full operation. The report of the canal board is, therefore, erroneous in calculation, erroneous in fact and in principle, and inaccurate in all its results. It is wonderful, that so many palpable, monstrous errors could have been embraced in a single statement. In that respect, the report may defy all competition, and full confidence may be indulged, that it will stand forever, pre-eminent in comparison with all papers that ever emanated from public officers.

One other view of the salt duty may be permitted, as it has an important bearing upon interesting questions for legislation. It now presents a phenomenon, unknown in the civilized world. When the duty was imposed, it was, and was intended to be, fifty per cent upon the value of the article. By the effects of the canals, the price was reduced last year, to six cents a bushel. It had for some time before been 8 and 9 cents. The duty for the last year, was therefore more than two hundred per cent, upon the value of the commodity. And that by a direct imposition, upon an article of domestic manufacture, and of prime necessity. Where Sir, in all Christendom, will you show me any thing like it. You will be troubled to find, even in countries where the imposts and excise are most onerous, a duty so disproportioned to the value, even when the article on which it is imposed, is of foreign production or manufacture, and of luxury or of noxious quality, or tendency. But no where, I apprehend, will you find such a duty upon an article of domestic manufacture, and that too, one of the simple necessities of life.

And now Sir, if you are ready, we will settle the accounts of the canals. Allow us the hundred millions, which they have created; the thirty millions they have saved in the expense of transportation; the few

millions, and we will not stand for trifles—which they have saved in the price of salt; the five millions they have yielded in tolls—well for the sake of harmony, we will let them go for repairs, although a large portion has been applied to the cost of new constructions. We will charge you nothing for comfort and convenience, and that Sir, is not a little, and then rather than you should feel so, we will allow your account of twelve millions, although if your life depend upon it, you cannot prove it; hand over the balance of an hundred and twenty millions, and we will part friends. And then Sir, we will see how plump your general fund will look.

Who is this General Fund? From the manner in which he is spoken of, he must be a being of life, rights, duties, responsibilities, sympathies, passions—some meritorious chieftain—the hero of fifty wars—the triumphant victor of a thousand fields; now preyed upon by all his neighbours, rendered ragged and wretched by their depredations; surrounded by pirates; bleeding at every pore, from wounds inflicted by remorseless cruelty. Sir, whatever his former merits may have been, his recent conduct does not commend him to my compassion. When I see him *mousing* among the public documents, in search of ancient expenditures on which to found a claim, that he never preferred before, but which, at the time, he pretended was a gift for the public benefit; when I find him asserting claims without the shadow of foundation; presenting an account, at which arithmetic laughs; declaring with matchless impudence that he had put items in it, that he knew did not belong to him, yet refusing to strike them out; robbing his own brother of wealth and honour, for his own aggrandizement; attempting a flagrant imposture upon human credulity; he seems unfit to be adorned with glorious plumes, and exactly fit to be arrayed in the habiliments of a bandit. Sir, I have no sympathy for such a being.

I will now, Sir, examine some of the objections, that have been urged against the improvement, contemplated by the bill, under consideration. It is no longer contended that it would be impracticable to construct it. On the contrary, its construction is easy. Nor is it pretended, that if made, it would not prove useful to an important section of our state. Nor is it seriously contended that there is not a sufficient supply of water at the summit. My colleague from Herkimer, says he will admit there is water enough *with a proviso*. Sir, my colleague knows, full well, that we have banished all provisos from Legislation. I beg leave therefore to amend the bill of my colleague, to make it conform to modern usage, and the fact. It will then read, there is water enough

at the summit, but you must *take it at the right place*. And that reading clears the subject of all difficulty. My colleague speaks of the survey made by Mr. Forman, and infers from his statement, that there may be a doubt as to the sufficiency of water. That engineer fixed the summit at a certain point on the Chenango river, and there, in his own opinion, he found an adequate supply. The more minute and perfect survey of Mr. Bates, established the fact, the summit can be fixed, with advantage, at a lower point, where there is a more abundant supply of water, because, between the two points, considerable streams empty into the river. And this Sir, banishes all doubt and confusion, which apparently existed, caused by the dissimilarity in the two surveys. The supply of water as proved by the first examination, was sufficient, by the last, abundant. That is no longer a question. But my colleague imagines and contends that this canal will cost more than a million of dollars. Mr. Bates, after a survey, unusually minute, and an estimate, made with uncommon care, assures us that it will cost less, and offers to be one of a company to construct it, and make better work than your other canals, for the amount of his estimate. But my colleague fancies, that he has discovered omissions in the estimate of certain items of expenditure which he designates. I will not look to see whether the items he mentions, are included or omitted. He imagines they are not included, because he does not find them under such heads, or specified in such manner, as he supposes they should be. It must strike every one that the items, he enumerates, are plain and indispensable items of expenditure, such as must exist in the case of every canal, as obvious and necessary, as covering for the roof of a building. They are such items as would have been palpable to the sense of a man of no experience. Can my colleague believe that they would have "escaped the Ken" of an engineer, distinguished for skill and accuracy, who had for the last twelve years, been in the constant practice of making such estimates? How will my colleague account for the fact, that the canal commissioners themselves, with all their long experience, and with these surveys and estimates in their hands, and when they were hunting for objections, to this canal, never discovered the omission. Sir, it is incredible, and my colleague will find upon a re-examination that he is under a mistake as to the fact of omission. My colleague asserts his belief, that this improvement will cost \$1,500,000 notwithstanding the estimate of the engineer, and his confident opinion, founded upon that estimate, that it can be made, and well made, for less than a million. If my colleague cannot confide in the accuracy of the engi-

neer, where can he repose his confidence? Certainly not in the commissioners upon that point, for they give him no information or aid. And how will he reconcile their conduct with the fidelity required of public officers? They have indeed told you, that in their opinion, it cannot be constructed for a million, but they have not told you what it would cost, nor have they presented you any data or estimate by which you can make a calculation. Nor have they used any language, importing that it would cost much more. If they knew or believed, that it would cost a million and a half, how will my colleague excuse them for the suppression of that opinion. When this subject was expressly committed to their charge, how will he justify them for the omission or concealment of so important a fact. If the commissioners have been so negligent in the performance of an important duty, if they have rendered such an unfaithful account, of an unfaithful service, they are unworthy of any confidence. They should be impeached, removed from office, and disqualified from ever holding a public trust. My colleague has not as much confidence in the commissioners as I have, and I assure you, I cannot boast of an abundance. I believe the commissioners thought this canal would cost something, but not much, more than a million, not enough to require them in the discharge of an important trust, to specify the excess, or to present an estimate. I admit that it may cost more than a million, and it may also be constructed for less, and there is perhaps as great a probability that its cost would fall below, as rise above that amount. Against the opinion of the commissioners, you have that of all the engineers, who have ever surveyed the route, and fortunately, one of their own selection. And it is no disparagement to them, to say that the engineer who made the last survey, was more competent than themselves, to make an estimate, and express an opinion. He was labouring in his own peculiar vocation, in which he had been engaged, and distinguished, for a series of years. They were in the performance of a service, not foreign to their appropriate, official duties, but not peculiarly and essentially one of those duties. They have always been in the habit of relying on the estimate of engineers, rather than their own. The engineer spent, four months, most assiduously in his survey and examination, preparatory to the formation of his opinions. They employed five days, in a leisurely and doubtless, cheerful, ride through the valley. The engineer must have been competent to the duty, or the commissioners would not have preferred him to all others. Who possessed the best qualifications, he or they from previous employment, habit, accupation and opportunity, to present you an estimate, and opinion entitled to

your confidence? He has made an estimate, and given you an opinion founded upon it. They have expressed an opinion, but have made no estimate, and have not told you what it would cost.

My colleague asserts that the Champlain canal cost a million, and he asks if the Champlain canal 63 miles long cost a million, what will the Chenango canal 95 miles long cost. It is a fair sum in arithmetic, and as every interrogatory from my colleague deserves an answer, he shall have one. I will furnish it, from the very document to which he himself, has referred. He cited Gov. Clinton's message to prove that the Erie and Champlain canals cost between \$20 and \$30,000 a mile. The very next paragraph asserts, that canals can now be made for \$10,000 a mile. If then the Champlain canal could now be made for 10,000 dollars a mile; That canal 63 miles in length would now cost \$630,000, and the Chenango canal 95 miles long, would cost \$950,000; Aqueducts, culverts, waste weirs, bridges, lock-houses, toll-houses, embankments, all told. And that Sir, is the answer I give my colleague.

The chairman has told us that our canals, and all other canals, cost more than the estimate, and hence infers that such will be the fact with this construction. Sir, the chairman is too good a logician not to perceive that on this point, he has presented no argument at all. He has not given his statement the requisite parts, to form an argument. The proposition assumes, that there was a plan and an estimate founded upon that plan, and that the cost exceeded the estimate. Prove then that there was no departure from the plan; that is essential to the perfection of the argument. Until that is done, there is nothing accomplished. There is no argument; one of the indispensable ingredients is absent. Sir, I know a house that cost five times, the original estimate; and why? Because its dimensions on the ground were trebled, it was built four stories high, instead of two, and had a superior finish. It is for those who use that objection to furnish the proof, that there was no departure from the plan. It does not devolve on us who resist it, to prove there was, although as to many of the cases stated, that proof is at hand. We know there were perpetual alterations in the plan or mode of construction of our canals. When the chairman will produce an instance of the cost of a canal exceeding the estimate and no departure from the plan on which the estimate was founded; I will undertake to account for the occurrence, and what I cannot account for, on fair and obvious principles, I will freely admit, must be ascribed to the imperfection of human judgement. But if the chairman asks me to answer his present

statement, I say to him no Sir, put three legs to your stool, before you undertake to use it, and surely you will not offer to others, what you cannot use yourself.

But what is this argument? The only fair conclusion that can be drawn from it is, that this canal ought not to be constructed, because it *may* cost more than the estimate. If this argument be sound, you did wrong to commence your system of internal improvements, because the probability was then extreme, that the cost would exceed the estimate. On this principle, no improvements ought ever to have been undertaken since the flood. Sir, you must never build a house. No, Sir, you must go houseless, all your days, because a house, if you undertake to build, not only may, but to a dead certainty will, cost more than your estimate. Why, Sir, this argument, if universally observed, is of potency sufficient to bring the world to a full stop. You will readily perceive, Sir, that there is far less danger of inadequate estimate now, than when you commenced your system. Now all the mysteries of such operations are revealed, and you have the advantage of very perfect experience, and of manifold inventions for diminution of labour and expense. When you commenced your system, your engineers had to grope, in darkness, in unexplored regions. All was doubt and conjecture. Now they have unerring data, unquestioned facts, known results, to guide their judgments. They may err now, but the chance of error, is greatly diminished, and the danger of great error, hardly exists. If we cannot confide in the estimates for this canal, it is hardly possible that any can be made, that should be entitled to confidence.

But the main point of enquiry is as to the productiveness of the canal, if constructed. On this point, opposition is the most forcible, because it is impossible to arrive at certainty. It is a matter always in doubt. Certainty can be obtained only by experiment, and proven only by results. It is easy to withhold belief, that a particular improvement will be adequately productive, by distrusting the evidence offered to establish the fact. If any rule could be established, by which to test the evidence, we might arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. But while no such rule exists, and we differ in the degrees of confidence, put in the evidence, it is not surprising that we should arrive at different conclusions. In this instance we have four kinds of evidence.

The opinion of the canal commissioners, founded on partial examinations.

The estimates and opinions of the inhabitants along the contemplated route, founded upon minute data.

The opinions of Engineers. And the results produced by comparison with other canal sections. If you take the opinion of the canal commissioners, this canal will indeed, be greatly deficient in revenue. But, does their opinion deserve your confidence? One of them was disqualified from forming any opinion. He had embraced the doctrine that it was unconstitutional to construct canals. He could not, therefore, give an opinion in favour of the construction. His regard for the constitution, in part the work of his hands, the oath which he had repeatedly taken to support it, forbade him to do an act which should cause its violation. His principles, his integrity of purpose, the oath of God upon his soul, restrained him from the expression of a favorable opinion, whatever might be the facts. He was not in a condition properly, to estimate the evidence, submitted to his consideration. He was as disqualified to decide upon the question submitted to him, as a man who believes it wrong to take life as the punishment for any crime, is to be juror on a trial for a capital offence. There is a respected portion of our fellow citizens, who sincerely so believe, and they are excluded from juries, for the trial of cases involving a deprivation of life. Those conscientious men, knowing the conflict which may ensue between the requirement of the jurors oath and their settled opinions, usually declare their embarrassment, and object to the performance of such a duty. They are excluded, not because they have any thing to do with the question of punishment, but because conviction exposes the offender to a punishment which they believe ought never to be inflicted. They are disqualified from properly estimating the evidence upon which their decision is to depend. Precisely such was the case of this commissioner. He believed it unconstitutional to construct any canal. He could not, therefore, conscientiously give an opinion, that might lead to the violation of that sacred instrument. He had embraced another doctrine, equally fatal to the formation of a favourable opinion in relation to this construction. He had declared in the most emphatic manner, that "internal improvements, when they shall be stripped by time, of their gaudy trappings, will be found to be nothing but ETERNAL TAXATION." Believing that, it was impossible for him, consistently with his integrity, to come to a conclusion, favorable to the construction of any canal. When he saw mountains of taxation, rising higher than those which bound the valley of the Chenango, it was his duty, to interpose his arm, to prevent their tumbling upon the good people of this state. With such opinions it was impossible, that commissioner could view, the further prosecution of your canal system, with any degree of complacency, or even indiffer-

ence. Nothing favorable could be expected from him. It is impossible to determine how much his opinions influenced the opinions of his colleagues. Neither he, nor his friends, would readily assent to the fact, that he is incapable of exerting an influence. What is there to commend the opinions or the estimates of the canal commissioners, to your confidence? When, and where did they ever make a correct calculation, in the whole course of their official lives? Shew me a single instance of calculation verified by result. They tell you, themselves, they never made an accurate estimate, in the report 1825, to which I have called your attention. And I have shewn you, that they continued in erroneous calculation, down to last year, and you have, yourself, seen how exceedingly their estimates then, fell short of the reality. It was prudent, cautious, and probably wise, in them, to present estimates which, should always be exceeded by results. It was safer to repress, than inflate public expectation. Having always accustomed themselves to the practice of underrating, they adhere to it, without consciousness. The mode has become the habitude of the mind. We are, therefore, to regard their estimate in relation to this canal, like all their others, as far below, what experience would prove the actual results.

If we reject the estimate of the canal commissioners, and place confidence in those of the inhabitants, made with perfect knowledge, estimates supported by the opinions of engineers, and corroborated by comparisons, with other canal sections, we find, that this improvement will yield an abundant revenue. These estimates are contained in the reports which have been presented from year to year, by committees, of the legislature, and they vary from \$34,000, that of the commissioners, to \$160,000, the highest made by the inhabitants of the Valley.

The fair average of all the estimates would give an annual revenue of about \$120,000, enough and more than enough, for all your wants.

I shall make no estimates, because, if I were to do so, they must be based upon data, similar to those on which the calculations already before you rest, and if they are satisfactory it is unnecessary, and if not, I cannot fancy, that confidence in them, would be inspired by my re-examination and re-statement. My means of information, are, perhaps, not more ample than those of the commissioners, and far less so, than those of the inhabitants, whose estimates you possess. I too, could speak of a five day's sojourn, in that "sequestered" valley, but I would not ask you to abide by my opinions of the amount or value of its products. I saw good land, and a plenty of it; intelligent and civil people, and abundance of room for more. I will submit to you a comparison

from which you will perceive that this valley is by no means full of inhabitants. It will come in aid of the views presented you on that point, by my colleague, (Mr. Foster,) from Oneida. I will take only Chenango and Broome, which counties contain probably less than half the population that would be directly accommodated by this canal.

	Acres of land.	Population.
Chenango and Broome,	920,000	55,000
Oneida and Seneca,	899,000	92,000
Onondaga and Madison,	870,400	98,011
Washington and Saratoga,	927,000	83,400
Dutchess and Orange,	975,000	96,000

It may be said that Oneida contains one large village. True, but the canal made it. More than half of what it is, may be ascribed to that cause. Oneida contains also, with much choice soil, more bad land than the Chenango valley; land that will never be thickly settled, until inhabitants are driven on by necessity. The population of Oneida is swollen by large and valuable manufacturing establishments. The Chenango valley abounds in most eligible sites for hydraulic establishments. The inhabitants of that valley cannot now compete in manufactories with their neighbors of Oneida. What would be fair profit in Oneida, would be none in Chenango and Broome, because it would be absorbed in expenses of transportation.

Construct this canal, and villages and manufactories will spring up in the valley, as they have done along the line of your other canals.

Now, the interests of that section are depressed, in consequence of superior advantages possessed by others. The agricultural interest languishes, in common with the rest. There is not an equal stimulant to exertion, because industry there, does not receive an equal reward.

Lands are rendered less inviting to settlers, and consequently diminished in value. Make this canal and you increase their attraction. Their abundant fertility, united with commercial facilities, will enhance their value and enable them to return ample rewards to labor and to capital. It is a partial and imperfect view, to estimate the surplus products of that portion of your state, in its present condition, with its present sparse population and depressed interests. It will lead to more correct results to estimate that surplus as it will be, with a population nearly doubled, and every interest stimulated by encouragements and reward. I am confident that it would be safe, to calculate that the surplus products of that section, and its consumption of merchandise, would double in ten years from the completion of that canal.

But I have endeavoured to shew you, that it is a flagrant error, to estimate the value of a canal by its revenue. You receive more than a quadruple return, in the property it creates. Compensation is made you also, in the increase of your commerce and the consequent advancement of your metropolis.

Indeed, the Chairman has rejected revenue, as the test of the propriety of constructing any improvement. He has furnished a rule by which I am willing to abide. Indeed, I find in his report, almost every principle necessary to my purpose. Speaking of the approaching period when the state shall have "abundant means," the Chairman says: "Then, though there should exist, well grounded doubt of the revenue which any particular improvement would yield, there could be no solid objection to the application of a portion of the superabundance of the Treasury to the advancement of such objects." If under such circumstances, probability of a deficient revenue, would be no "*solid objection*" to an application of a portion of the "abundant means" of the state to the purposes of internal improvement, I understand, it would be *no objection at all*. And as I hope to shew you, that the state does now possess "superabundant means," we bring this canal within the rule and free from all objection. You will ask, what are those means? They are, Sir, the same by which you constructed the other canals. They are vastly more abundant now, than at any period during the progress of those works.

Your credit will furnish the means. That is the best of all resources. If your coffers were full, to a surfeit, it would be better to use your credit, than your money, for this purpose, if you had other great and useful objects, to which you could apply your treasures, from which you would expect no pecuniary return. When you commenced your canal system, capital was scarce, and not of easy attainment. Now it is abundant and seeking employment. Last year, you obtained on your Chemung loan, a premium of nearly eleven per cent., and interest at the rate of four, and four and an half per cent. on the deposit of that loan. The state of the money market is now more favorable than it was last year. Indeed, I have information from those entitled to be regarded as authority, that if the state of the world should continue till June, as it now is, you may obtain a premium of twelve and an half per cent. on a loan of five per cent. for twenty years. The money you borrow, therefore, costs you not four and an half per cent. In plainer terms, you can get money, for twenty years, by paying five per cent. interest for seventeen years.

On the supposition, that the Chenango canal should cost one million, to be borrowed in three annual sums, the first of 400,000, and the other two of 300,000 each, and you should be three years constructing it, the following would be the result. Reckoning interest, at four per cent, upon the deposits of the loans, at a premium of ten per cent, you would have, of premiums and interest, sufficient to pay the interest upon the loans, during the period of its construction, and a surplus of \$21,503, at a premium of eleven per cent, your surplus, after payment of interest, would be \$32,367; and at a premium of twelve and a half per cent, the surplus would amount to \$48,664. Thus, Sir, your credit would furnish you the means of paying the cost of the construction, and provide you with more than sufficient to pay the interest, during the progress of the work. And do you fear, Sir, that your credit would suffer? Is that possible, when you have already a canal fund which is a burden to you? A fund which your creditors may have, at any moment, but will not take, because they prefer your bond to your money? And when, too, that fund is increasing at an appalling rate? No, Sir, when your credit is in danger, you will find your creditors willing to exchange your stock for gold and silver. But your credit can never be shaken, while you have money to pay your debts, and your creditors will not take payment because they like your security better, and all the world know it.

But the inquiry is, how you will pay the interest, and eventually the principal, after the canal is completed and your premium and interest upon deposits, are exhausted.

The first answer is by the revenue of the canal. If that revenue proves sufficient, your cares are ended. It is only in the alternative, that the revenue shall be inadequate, that you will be required to make any provision. If such should be the result, you have abundant means at command. No taxation will be requisite, and no interference with other funds.

It will require only a just and proper application of your canal revenue. I know that constitutional objections may be made, as they are made to almost every exertion of power, even to the construction of canals. But there may be views, that will free the subject from all difficulty. This improvement has been regarded, as it truly is, a part of your great canal system. It will be tributary to the Erie canal. Every tributary to that canal, swells the amount of its tolls and increases the canal revenue. This would be most emphatically the case with the Chenango canal. Between the country, which would be intersected by the southern half of the Chenango canal and the Erie canal, there is now no

intercourse. The inhabitants of that section of the country, find their way to market by other and various routes. The whole commerce of that section, with all that would be drawn from beyond its southern extremity; and with much, that would be afforded by the country bordering upon the northern half, would be added to the present business of the Erie canal. The Chenango canal would unite with the Erie, 108 miles from its junction with the Hudson. A larger amount of toll would be collected upon commodities coming from the Chenango canal, on the Erie canal, than on the Chenango canal itself, because the distance would be greater. The Chenango would, therefore, be a large contributor to the revenues of the Erie.

All will agree that it would be proper and just that the Erie should pay back to the Chenango, the amount of its contributions. But the constitution is interposed, and the conclusion avoided, by the allegation, that those contributions are included in the pledge to pay the debts of the Erie.

Is this so? Can any fair construction of that provision in the constitution include these contributions, in its spirit? You may make the letter embrace them. But were they contemplated when the pledge was given? The Convention that framed the Constitution either contemplated the construction of canals, tributary to the Erie, or it did not. If it did, such tributaries were regarded as forming a part of the system, and the pledge was constituted, as well for them, as for the main trunk. Upon this supposition, you may apply the canal revenue directly to the payment of their deficiencies. But if the Convention did not contemplate the construction of tributaries, then it did not contemplate the increase of tolls upon the Erie canal, by means of tributaries, and therefore could not have intended to pledge that increase. In this view, it is manifestly just, that the Erie should pay back that amount, if it can be done, and the necessities of the tributaries require it. Can it be done? What was the purpose of the pledge? Not to stop the progress of the system of internal improvements, but to provide for the payment of the canal debt from certain specified sources.

Two constructions can be given to this provision of the constitution. One is, that which will best fulfil its object. If this view be correct, it would be consistent with the object, possibly requisite, to effect it, to apply a portion of the revenue to increase the aggregate amount of that revenue. Such application has been made in several instances. But there are those who tell us—"what is written, is written," and we must abide by the letter, although it should defeat the object. They reverse

the precept, "the letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive," and insist that the spirit killeth, the letter preserves the revenue, although it may defeat the liberal intent of the constitution.

Let us adopt one construction and abide by it. There is a legitimate source of revenue which, upon one construction, is not included in the pledge. The tolls, auction and salt duties are pledged, but the interest arising upon the canal fund is not pledged. There is no mention of it in the constitution. Interest was not contemplated. No such thought occurred to the convention.

You are not required to make interest by the use of the fund. Would it not be a perfect compliance with the requirement of the constitution, if you were to lock up the revenue as you receive it, and preserve it until you can apply it to the payment of the debt to which it is devoted. If you were to place the fund in deposit, without interest, would it not be a fulfilment of the constitutional requirement? It would indeed be indiscreet, injudicious management of those funds, but if you are to abide by the letter of the constitution, where is the letter that requires you to put those funds at interest? You will look in vain for it. Take then which construction of the constitution you prefer. Only abide by the one you choose. In either alternative, ample means are at your command. If you adopt the liberal construction, that which best fulfils the object, you may apply, as you have done, a portion of the canal revenue, to increase its amount. If you say you will abide by the letter, although you violate the spirit of the constitution, do so, you then have the interest at your disposal, for there is nothing in the letter that touches that. By the application of the interest to the payment of the deficiencies of the tributaries, you perform merely an act of justice; you enable the Erie, to pay back what it receives, beyond the amount that was ever intended to be included in the pledge. You enable the state to extend the benefits of canal navigation, to those sections which suffer from the want of commercial facilities. You do not diminish the revenue pledged, for that revenue is increased by the tributaries, beyond the amount they will require in return. You cannot reduce the tolls and duties below the constitutional establishment, but that prohibition does not effect the interest; you cannot divert the tolls and duties, but that extends not to the interest, for that is neither tolls nor duties, and instead of diverting, you apply it, to increase the tolls; you get an equivalent for the interest, before you pay it. If such were not the fact, it cannot be alleged, that the interest is necessary to enable you to pay the debt for which the tolls and duties are pledged. I have shown you what the canal fund will be, at the periods when you

debt will become payable, with interest. I will now show you what it will amount to, without interest, at the same periods.

Assuming the same principles of calculation as to revenue and expenditure, without computation of interest, you will have on the first of January 1838, a fund of \$6,548,096,95, and after the payment of the portion of the debt that becomes due on the first of July preceeding, (\$3,489,000) there will remain a fund of \$3,059,096,95. And on the first of January 1846, the fund will amount to \$10,259,096,95, and after payment of the residue of the debt (\$3,512,035,86,) you will have an unincumbered fund of \$6,747,061,9. You have no need of the interest to enable you to fulfil the objects of the pledge. It is perfectly unnecessary for that purpose, even if you do not increase the revenue by its application. But you will increase it, and therefore your fund will be the same or larger, if you make the proposed disposition of the interest. The question resolves itself into one of expediency and utility. It is simply whether you will make a beneficial use of this interest, or whether you will add it, without necessity, to the superabundant fund which you cannot touch until the canal debt is discharged. This resource will be abundant. The interest upon the canal fund, for the current year, will be \$62,083,38, and may be made more, by a proper disposition of the money in deposit. That interest will increase at the rate of, at least \$30,000 annually. By constituting a fund of that interest, you may relieve your general fund, from the annual payment of \$35,000 now charged upon it, for the deficiencies of the short canals, whose contributions to the Erie, are more than sufficient, and for bounties on salt, now necessary, for the sustentation of the manufacture of that indispensable commodity. It is idle, and worse than idle, to talk of taxation to sustain or prosecute your canal system. If you will only give it, permission, it will maintain and extend itself. It is abundantly capable. It awaits only your action. If the system be not further extended, it will be your fault, not the falt or want of ability in the system itself.

The chairman asserts, that the "system of internal improvements has operated unequally, in many places, and oftentimes, harshly in particular districts." And that "there are portions of the state, which have received no benefit from the vast amount, that has been expended in our great works of internal improvement, except as component members of one great community," that "their individual and private interests have been depressed, and sometimes sacrificed. Where are these districts, and these portions of the state, that have so suffered? If any such are to be found, the very counties that ask for this improvement, stand fore-

most on the list of sufferers. Their claims for consideration, are strongest. Of positive suffering there has been none. But the operation of the system may have produced comparative injury to some sections of the state, by conferring superior advantages upon others. There are sections, and the Chenango valley is one, that have been made to suffer, by turning the tide of emigration from them, and thus checking their advancement in population and wealth. They suffer too, by the deprivation of commercial facilities which you have extended to other and more distant portions of the state. The canals have brought some sections, those near them, nearer to the market, while by the same operation, they have removed those at a distance from their line, relatively, farther from it. These facts constitute a powerful reason in favor of this particular improvement. A government should always be just, both for the sake of justice, and to secure the affections of the people on which, it relies for support.

The chairman, also, says and repeats, that expectations have been indulged, that the canal revenues should be applied, after payment of the debt, to aid the purposes of education, and hence draws an inference that they should not be applied to the farther prosecution of the system of internal improvements. It is true, that such anticipations have been indulged, but that object has always been considered secondary for the application of those revenues. In the very quotation which the chairman has introduced in support of his position, internal improvements are put first and ranked first of the "best interests of the state." But, Sir, have the canals done nothing for education? The bulk of the expense of education must always be paid by individuals. Look at the expenditure for common schools. Individuals pay four fifths of the amount. Think also, of the sums paid by individuals for education in private schools, high schools, ladies schools, academies and colleges. It is well that the government should adopt systems to stimulate individual efforts and give them direction and aid their operations from public funds. That you have done, but increase your funds, devoted to that object to any amount within the compass of your means, still individuals must pay the bulk of the expenditure for the purpose of education. Whatever increases the ability of the people to pay it, promotes that great object. The disposition they possess. Your wise policy has excited, encouraged and cherished the inclination. All they have lacked was the means. The canals, by enriching your citizens, have enabled them to gratify their own wishes, and promote your benign intents. In this way, the

canals have already done, are now doing, and promise to do, more for the purposes of education, than all your funds have done or can do.

The chairman has, also, ventured the declaration, that "those counties, which have shared but indirectly, if at all, in the benefits of the canal system, but have paid by reason of their wealth, and the abstraction of those means, the heaviest tax of any, *feel*, that the faith of the state is pledged to restore, to the general fund, for the common good, the amount thus withdrawn from it, whenever the constitution will permit the canal revenues," to receive that direction. There are, doubtless, counties, which cannot *feel* for the deprivation of commercial advantages, because they have always enjoyed them. Like heirs to fortunes, they know not the miseries of poverty, or the toil of acquisition. But it would be a sad commentary upon poor human nature, if any are so rich, and so proud of wealth, that they have no bowels of compassion, for their suffering kindred and friends. But, how, Sir, is this restoration to be effected and to what extent, is it to be carried? Will you pay back to the inhabitants of other states, the money you have taken from them, by your steam-boat tax, and your auction duties, for the construction of your canals? Strangers have contributed more largely than the counties that *feel* so, and they, too, have been benefited, only indirectly, if at all, by your great works.

Do you intend to make restitution to them? Or is your justice, like charity, to begin at home, and stay there? If you acknowledge an obligation to make restoration, I fancy you will find yourself in trouble to make it, upon any principle of justice.

But the chairman informs us, for our consolation, that we are to share largely in the distribution of the surplus revenues of the United States. I agree with the chairman, that this is an old project, and if any thought otherwise, of which I was not aware, I rejoice that he has undertaken to disabuse the public mind and correct erroneous impressions. It has been often proposed and as often declined. But now, we are told that the "policy of the administration is well settled," and there is "every reasonable prospect, that this mode of distribution will be adopted after the extinguishment of the National debt." Copious streams of revenue are to flow upon us, from this resource. The chairman will agree with me, that if they come, they will come quickly.

The national debt will be paid off, in about three years, and this principle of distribution must be established soon, or it never will be. Money will not be suffered to accumulate in the national treasury. Every hand will be stretched forth to stop it from going in, or to snatch it out.

This principle of distribution must be established quickly, or some other principle will take place of it. The chairman has confidence that such will be the disposition of the national revenues, and we may, therefore, soon expect to experience the flow of abundant streams. We do not want them, for the further prosecution of our system of internal improvements. We have other sure resources that are abundant. When you receive your large dividends from that source, you may apply them to the advancement of education and your other great objects of a similar character. When you receive them, it will be very fit, that you apply them, to great, moral, charitable, and political objects, from which you will expect no pecuniary return. When you have abundant supplies from that resource, you will not want the canal revenues for any of these purposes. You may, therefore, prosecute your system of internal improvements in safe reliance upon them. An assurance that we may rely upon our large share of the surplus revenue of the United States, furnishes an argument of great strength and force, in favor of an immediate engagement in the construction of more canals. Mr. Clinton's authority is again introduced to sanction this mode of distributing the national revenues. I cannot fail to admire the very frequent reference to the authority of that illustrious statesman. I never belonged to the class of his impassioned admirers. Great merit I knew he had, and always accorded it, to him. The exclusive merit, that was sometimes claimed for him, I never perceived and never admitted. But he is gone; eulogy he wants not; monument he needs not, for his merit and his fame are engraven upon the heart of the globe.

It would really seem, that there was a determination now, to exalt his usefulness far beyond the aspirations of even his own lofty ambition, by proving to the world that his system cannot be prosecuted without him. The historian may record of him, that he was the most fortunate of mankind. Strong in life, stronger still at his death, he conquered when he died, those whom he could never influence while he lived, who, to atone for their incredulity, resolved to give a practical illustration of his greatness, by putting a stop to the progress of his system. He was succeeded by a race, who, while they professed to admire his example, had not the capacity to embrace his great and grand conceptions, or the boldness to follow in the path of glory, which he so majestically trod. The enterprise of New-York, which rose and flourished in vigor with Clinton, perished and slumbered in the grave with him. I hope, Sir, no such record may ever be written. I trust the example of him, who excited and directed, may never be used to cramp and restrain, the energies of a mighty state.

The chairman has referred us to France, and reminded us of the splendor of the imperial reign, and the imbecility of the recent dynasty. That is an appropriate reference, and directs you to sources whence you may derive most abundant and profitable instruction. How was it, that Napoleon charmed his empire, and rivited to him the affections of the people? By great actions, by brilliant achievements, by glorious deeds. His drafts upon the people, for treasure, and for blood, were frequent and heavy, but they saw that his objects were lofty, his plans were vast, his schemes magnificent, and all for glory and for France. There was a charm in that saying, "I will make France, a fairy land." How did he hush the murmurs of discontent, and secure a perpetual, unabating attachment? By a new conquest, by a brilliant victory, by decreeing five canals in one day. To estimate the intensity of popular affection towards him, you need not behold him at his giddy, dazzling pre-eminence of power, and grandeur; the object of the envy, dread, or admiration of the whole universe; when the splendor of all the crowns of Europe was absorbed in the superior effulgence, that beamed from his diadem. But see him when, he returned from that exile, to which treason, corruption, and the elements consigned him. Behold his march from the coast to the capitol, "through one long triumphant arch," while every hand, and every voice, and every heart, bade him welcome. Then was displayed his power over the human mind, his despotism over the human affections. His was in truth a despotism, reared by affection, and sustained by gratitude, for great and glorious deeds. And this Sir, when many of his acts, from necessity or inclination, were, of dubious morality, and tyrannical import; and therefore less attractive than those of greatness, and unmixed goodness and beneficence. In the prosecution of internal improvements, Clinton was more to New-York, than Napoleon to France. Shall I run the parallel farther? No, for the honor of my state, I will not. Here I trust the parallel ends. But I will tell you what caused the overthrow of the imbecile dynasty. They did nothing for usefulness, nothing for greatness, nothing for glory, nothing for France. They did indeed undertake an expedition, which, if undertaken in time, might have brought them support and renown. But that too, like the improvement now under consideration, from year to year was postponed, not relinquished: It was finally undertaken, but it was then too late to save the "imbecile dynasty."

Their doom was pronounced; the measure of popular displeasure was full; there was no reversing the sentence, by visions of glory, nor delaying its execution, by unwonted displays of energy, and power,

Those, who had trifled, beyond endurance, with popular feeling, could then find no shelter from the storm of public indignation. They undertook the expedition, and conducted it well. It was a brilliant achievement; but the existence of the dynasty, was ended. The renown was enjoyed, the green laurels were gathered, and the rich "spoils carried off," by others.

The whole question between the advocates and opponents of this improvement, is merely a question of time. The chairman says, the application is to be deemed, "post poned, not denied." And the whole argument, in opposition, is founded on the assumption, that this canal should be made, and will be made, at some future period; but we must stop till we are better off. It is an old maxim, and as true as old, that there is danger in delay, and it may be well for you to remember the history, the incidents, and the results of the Algerine expedition.

States and nations, like individuals, must have objects. Those objects denote the peculiar characteristics of the people, the degree of their intelligence, enterprise, compass of intellect, extent of view, loftiness of design, and beneficence of intent. They, also, serve to degrade, or elevate the national character. Our countrymen are a busy people; they are fond of excitement; they love action; they are full of enterprise, they pant for that mild and peaceful glory, which the chairman declares, and I admit, exceeds all military renown. A government, needing popular affection, and resting on public sentiment, should gratify those worthy propensities. It is a mistake, that the people grudge expenditures for useful objects. I believe it a universal truth, that our countrymen are better pleased with great expenditures for great and useful objects, than with little sums for little purposes. It is the miserable doles of favoritism, that cause their disgust and abhorrence. It is a sordid, miserly economy, that enquires only what a thing will cost; true economy enquires, as well, and more earnestly, what will it be worth.

The chairman has reminded us of the maxim, "in peace prepare for war." That, Sir, was the maxim of a character, whom we regard with awful reverence. I hope his precepts have sunk deep, into all our hearts, that they will influence our minds, and control our decisions. He led the van in the great work of internal improvements, with the same matchless forecast and wisdom, as he directed the arms, and counsels of his country. The chairman tells us, also, that the world is in tumult; that the angry elements of human passions, are excited to fury; that maddened populace are in commotion, and nations, in collision. Already embattled hosts are in array, and panting for the conflict; and that we

must prepare to "resist a crusade" against the "existence of free governments." Sir, the chairman had just before told us, that if the "New-York canals had been made, previous to the last war, they would have saved to the government, an amount, equal to the whole cost of their construction." I join him in the fact and sentiment; I call on him to join me in the conclusion. Hasten then, and make this canal now, while we are at peace, that, when war comes, and he tells you, the period is on the wing, that may bring it, you may have the advantage of its use and the benefit of its saving. You have no time to waste. Already the chairman sees the eastern horizon, black with the rising cloud of the tempest; the storm of war is gathering; already he hears the awful roar of its thunder, at a distance, and soon it will break its fiery bolt upon your head. Hurry then and prepare for the hour of approaching peril; It will be a fearful contest. Not a war for "free trade and seamen's rights," but a war, upon the event of which, is to depend the "existence of free governments." It is to be a "crusade" too. Not a war of single nation against nation, but a combination of monarchies against our republic. It will be an awful conflict. You will come gloriously out of it, but it will require all your energies. Hasten then to provide facilities, to conduct it with vigor, and close it, with renown. In case of war, this canal would be a most important avenue. Leading from the interior of your state, to the interior of Pennsylvania, it would enable the forces of that patriotic member of the union, to come rapidly to the defence of your northern frontier, and the troops of your own state, to rush to the defence of the important cities upon the coast. If the favorite system of warfare, of our ancient foe, that of a northern descent upon this good capitol, should be attempted again, it would enable this now "sequestered" valley, to send forth thousands of dauntless souls, to the aid of their brethren, of the North River. And with what feelings would they come? Gratitude would mingle with the sense of obligation and give force to its impulse. They would remember and say, when we solicited for privileges, that nature had denied us, but which they had always enjoyed, they were not haughty and repulsive, purse-proud, narrow, illiberal and mean in their policy; but they were touched with kindred sympathies; they were noble and generous, enlightened and patriotic; they conferred blessings upon us. We are bound to them, by all the ties that can influence grateful hearts. They are more than brethren; they are our benefactors; let us fly to their assistance. Sir, there are strange co-incidences in human affairs. Do not be surprised, when I tell you, the commencement of the Erie canal, was caused by precise

ly such a suggestion of war, as the chairman has made. The incident, is so apposite and full of instruction, that I beg you to permit me to relate it. You will find a graphic description of it, in the book before me, from one of the actors in the scene.*

The bill for the commencement of the Erie canal, passed the Legislature in April 1817, by small majorities in both branches. It was then doomed to pass a fiery ordeal in the old council of revision. Gov. Tompkins had just resigned the government, to accept the vice presidency. The council, on that occasion, consisted of Lieut. Gov. Taylor, the President, Chancellor Kent, Chief Justice Thompson, and Judges Yates and Platt. Judges Spencer and Van Ness, were absent on circuits. The bill was read. The president put the question to the members individually, beginning with the Chancellor.

He gave a decided opinion against it, and so did Chief Justice Thompson, on account of the details of the bill not from hostility to the policy. Judges Yates and Platt, gave their voices in its favour. Then the "venerable President, who had been distinguished among the firmest and ablest opponents of the measure, panted with honest zeal to strangle the infant Hercules at its birth, by giving his casting vote in the negative." A warm debate ensued; Vice President Tompkins came in and engaged familiarly in the discussion. He gave a strong and decided opinion against the measure. And among other reasons he declared, that we should soon be at war; that the peace with England was nothing but a truce which would not last two years; that England would never forgive us, for our victories, on the "ocean, and on the lakes, and on the land," and that instead of wasting our resources in such chimerical projects, all our resources and credit should be employed to prepare for the approaching struggle.

Chancellor Kent sprung from his seat, and exclaimed "War! do you think so, then I am for the canal; if we must have war or canal, I go for the canal, Sir, I vote for the bill; and that circumstance determined its passage.

Sir, "On what a slender thread, hang everlasting things."

I admit, Sir, that the gentleman who gives the forebodings of war now, is as wise and sagacious as he, who gave them then. I hope all who hear them now, will prove themselves as sagacious and wise as he, to whose quick change of opinion, we owe our whole system of internal improvements.

* Hosack's Memoirs of Clinton, Judge Platt's letter.

TOLLS.

NOTE.—It may not be universally known, that the present rates of tolls on the canals, are much above the rates specified in the constitution. The following tables will enable any person to make a comparison. The first contains the rates as fixed by the canal commissioners, March 12th, 1821, and recognized in the constitution.

The last, shews the present rates. It must be remembered that in 1821, the ton was 2,240 pounds. On flour, it will be perceived, the toll has been increased more than 60 per cent. In 1821, the toll was 10 mills per mile on 2,240 pounds. Now it is 7 mills per mile on 1,000, equal to 16 mills and six hundred and eighty thousandths of a mill on 2,240 pounds.

The effect of this increase of toll upon the commerce of New-York, as well as upon the agricultural interest, well deserves consideration.]

On salt, 5 mills, per ton, per mile, (7 bls of 5 bushels each, or 40 bushels in bulk, being a ton.)

Gypsum, 5 mills, per ton, per mile.

Flour, meal and all kinds of grain, salted provision, pot and pea ashes, 1 cent, per ton, per mile.

Merchandise, 2 cents, per ton, per mile,

Timber, squared and round, 5 mills per hundred solid feet, per mile.

Boards, planks and scantling, reduced to inch measure, and all siding lath, and other sawed stuff, less than one inch thick, 5 mills, per thousand, per mile.

Brick, sand, lime, iron ore, and stone, 5 mills, per ton, per mile.

Rails and posts for fencing, 2 cents per thousand, per mile.

Wood, for fuel, 1 cent, per cord, per mile.

All fuel, to be used, in the manufactures of salt, to pass free.

Boats made and used chiefly for the transportation of property, on each ton, of their capacity, 1 mill, per mile.

Boats made and used chiefly for the carriage of persons, 5 cents, per mile, of their passage.

Staves and heading, for pipes, 1 cent, per thousand, per mile.

Staves and heading, for hogsheads, 7 mills, per thousand, per mile.

Staves and heading, for barrels or less, 5 mills, per thousand, per mile.

All articles not enumerated, 1 cent, per ton, per mile.

NEW-YORK CANAL TOLLS—1831.

At a meeting of the canal board, at the comptroller's office, in the city of Albany, on the 21st March, 1831, the following rates of toll, upon property, were established :

<i>No.</i>	<i>Provisions.</i>	<i>cts m fr</i>
1.	On flour, salted beef and pork, butter and cheese, beer and cider, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 7 0
2.	On bran and ship-stuffs in bulk, per 1,000 pounds per mile	0 5 0
<i>Iron, Minerals, Ores, &c.</i>		
3.	On salt, manufactured in this state, per 1,000 pounds per mile.	0 2 3
4.	On gypsum, the product of this state, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 2 5
5.	On brick, sand, lime, clay, earth, leached ashes,, manure and and iron ore, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 2 5
6.	On pot and pearl ashes, mineral coal, charcoal, pig iron, broken castings and scrap iron, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 5 0
7.	On stove and all other iron castings, going to or from tide water, per 1,000 pounds per mile	1 4 0
8.	On copperas, going towards tide water, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 5 0
9.	On bar and pig lead, going towards tide water, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 5 0
<i>Furs, Peltry, Skins, &c.</i>		
10.	On furs and peltry, (except deer, buffalo and moose skins,) per 1,000 pounds, per mile,	1 4 0
11.	On deer, buffalo and moose skins, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 7 0
12.	On sheep skins and other raw hides of domestic animals of the U. S. per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 7 0
13.	On imported raw hides of domestic and other animals, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	1 0 0
<i>Furniture, &c.</i>		
14.	On household furniture, accompanied by, and actually belonging to families, emigrating north or west, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 5 0
15.	On carts, waggons, sleighs, ploughs and mechanics' tools, necessary for the owner's individual use, when accompanied by the owners, emigrating north or west for the purpose of settlement, per 1,000 pounds per mile,	0 5 0



